

KŪLANA PĀNO‘ONO‘O: ALOHA ‘ĀINA DISCOURSE  
WITHIN A HAWAIIAN POLITICAL IMAGINARY

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## ABSTRACT

Aloha ‘āina is a piko or central point in the Hawaiian world view which creates a rippling effect of knowledge and awareness that permeates all areas of life. The definition of aloha ‘āina in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* is translated as “love of the land or of one’s country; patriotism,” and it further explains that the many sayings connected to ‘āina illustrate the depth and rootedness of this love of the land in the Hawaiian worldview. In this dissertation, I argue that ‘āina can be employed as a kūlana pāno‘ono‘o (remembering function) that provides a continuity of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness. Building upon previous employments of this term by engaging the various definitions of both kūlana and pāno‘ono‘o, I postulate that the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o provides a vantage point from which to view ‘āina within the context of the virtual. The Deleuzian concepts of the virtual and the actual are seen as characterizations of the real, the virtual is the idea of the perpetual past that is never actualized and the actual is constituted as what is present and past.

By contextualizing ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o within the virtual, as the past that is never present or actualized, I argue that ‘āina embodies continuity from which ‘āina actualizations and functions of ‘āina emerge. Through an analysis of ‘āina actualizations and the functions of ‘āina in Hawaiian literary forms such as place names, proverbial sayings, chant and songs as well as longer compositions in mele ko‘ihonua and mo‘olelo, I articulate that ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o provides a genealogical framework of relationship to ‘āina as well as an interaction of memory and history that sheds light on the philosophy of aloha ‘āina. By placing ‘āina as the piko (center) from which these concepts radiate, I postulate ways that ‘āina is narrating the nation and providing continuity of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.

## PREFACE

Beginning my journey high over the Ka‘iwi channel and arriving with views of the Alenuihāhā, I sit in silence at the base of Mauna Kea. The wind is light, blowing gently over the pili (grass) that surrounds me and the warmth of the sun calms my senses. The views of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa and Hualalai remind me of family. In this pili at Kilohana, I engage this space of knowledge through a mele entitled Ku‘u Hoa Pili with my hālau, Kupukupu Ke Aloha.<sup>1</sup> Inspired by a huaka‘i (journey) to Kilohana for the gathering of pili some year’s prior, my kumu, Leilani Basham began to teach us through the genealogy of knowledge that connected these places to the various paukū (versus). The mo‘olelo (history) of this previous huaka‘i where the gathering of pili for the construction of the hale pili that now stands in Ka Papa Lo‘i ‘o Kānewai at UH Mānoa were shared at each place in the mele. The mo‘olelo of the gathering of hoapili (friends) and the bonds and memories created were also shared. The many hands working to make this possible and the kumu that led the group through the process, shaped the mele and the layers of meaning held within each line.

The mele consists of six versus, the first and last highlighting Kilohana the source of the pili and the middle four are centered around the wahi (places) of Kawaihae, Ka‘ūpūlehu, Mahukona and Waimea, where critical information was passed on to them during their journey. As we danced amongst the pili absorbing the words, the meanings, the patterns of motion, and the mo‘olelo, we were actively creating our own link in the chain of knowledge. At Kilohana, there was a distinct shift in my journey and I began to think about the concepts of visions of ‘āina as a way to engage memory and history. Particularly, what this meant in terms of Hawaiian national consciousness and identity and the awareness of national development in correlation to the theory of state continuity. (The continuity of a state is determined by two things if a state was in fact formed and meets this criteria. And whether this status was changed either via treaty, proscription, conquest etc.) With this in mind, I

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<sup>1</sup> I was privileged to be a part of a huaka‘i to the island of Hawai‘i with my hula hālau, Hālau Kupukupu Ke Aloha under the direction of Kumu Leilani Basham. The credits for this mele are as follows: “He mele aloha kēia no nā kūpuna, nā kumu, a me nā lima hana; he mele ia no nā hoa pili” translated here by myself as; this mele is for the kūpuna, the kumu, and the many hands that people that worked together; a mele dedicated to nā hoa pili. This mele was written down and recorded by Leilani Basham; she shared with us that it was the kūpuna who gave her the beginnings of this mele in Kilohana and she was the messenger.

began to ask myself, how do we (The “we” in this section is directed toward Hawaiian Nationals). connect to ‘āina through memory and history? Or further, how does ‘āina connect us to memory and history? What layers of meaning or depth do we uncover, and what gives it importance for how we live our lives today or for the future? The implications of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness are broad, and as Hawaiian scholar Kanalu Young explains, this term provides a body to which continued research in the matter will give “life and structure.”<sup>2</sup> Through this huaka‘i, I experienced a convergence of the ways that ‘āina has informed and nurtured me over the years and allowed a space to begin to process the variant crystalizations of these ‘āina relationships.

I am very grateful for the being able to call Hawai‘i my ‘āina hānau (birthplace) and for the ‘āina that I am genealogically and ontologically connected to. I am also grateful for the ‘ohana that I was born into, the Correa ‘Ohana and the Lenchanko ‘Ohana and the multiplicity of connections that extend through these inoa. Lastly, I am honored to have been on this journey of knowledge and the many people that have shaped me along this path.

Aloha ‘Āina,

Mary-Lindsey Kalikolaniho‘ike‘ala Lenchanko Correa

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<sup>2</sup> In the article “Kuleana: Towards a Historiography of Hawaiian National Consciousness”, Young explains that, “Hawaiian State continuity can be thought of as immutable by omission from 1893 to 1995. It has been immutable by commission since December 10, 1995 when the initial steps were taken to restore the Hawaiian government in an acting capacity under severe circumstances as provided for in the Constitution of 1864. postmodernism’s ideological offspring, Hawaiian national history, like any postmodern representation of knowledge unique to a specific national consciousness, was dormant until 1995. Hawaiian postmodernism, then, was one of the phenomena spawned in this era because of the need to follow the law that would begin the process of full restoration. Hawaiian national consciousness now restored takes care of the rest until de-occupation establishes new circumstances.”

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Ka hohonu i hiki 'ole ke ana 'ia,  
 'akā, ua 'ike 'ia nō kahi mau papa.  
 The depth is unfathomable,  
 but several strata have indeed been seen.<sup>3</sup>

As Kalākaua and the Royal Party sailed across the meridian of Honolulu, just a few degrees north of the Hawaiian Islands (recorded as lat. 38 degrees; lon. 157 degrees, 30') feelings of home and family "sprung up in Hawaiian hearts, yearning for their own loved shores" as they passed them by.<sup>4</sup> While crossing the Pacific from San Francisco to Japan, on board the *Oceanic*, Kalākaua was inspired to compose the mele (song), "Kalākaua to Kapi'olani." Kalākaua was "touched with reminiscences of his Kingdom, his people and his Queen, especially the latter, gave such a tender expression to his home and domestic feelings, that a little poetic inspiration, there and then present, shaped the faithful, royal emotion into the following lines."<sup>5</sup> In verses one and two of this mele, Kalākaua speaks of his longing to see and feel the shores of Hawai'i, hoping for them to appear before his eyes as he looks over the horizon.

To catch a glimpse of yonder shore,  
 My eager eyes I strain,  
 And pray that I was there—once more!  
 Let me not pray in vain!  
 The surf it's silvery crests display,

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<sup>3</sup> 'Ōlelo No'eau (Hawaiian Proverbial Saying) In, Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 119.

<sup>4</sup> "King Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser Co.*, October 1881. p.30. In the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, mele is defined as a "song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant." In the *Pacific Commercial. Advertiser* this mele is categorized as a sonnet. Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 245. [mele]

<sup>5</sup> "King Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 1881, p.30.

On that far shore I love,  
 When back I make my homeward way,  
 No more I'll care to rove.<sup>6</sup>

O ka ike liki aku i na ae one ma o,  
 Ka ko'u mau maka e ake nei,  
 Me ka pule e hoea hou au ilaila,  
 Mai ae i ka'u upu e ko ole!  
 O na nalu huakea lelehuna,  
 O ia ae one; he aloha au,  
 A ke huli kuu alo no ka huakai home,  
 E nalo na manao hele auwana.<sup>7</sup>

With thoughts of Kapi'olani who eagerly awaits his return, he asks the sea "How long you'll hold me back?" Kalākaua goes on to speak of his love for His Queen that surpasses all the grandeur he will experience on the world tour. Then in verses four and five he is expressing his love for Hawai'i with a sentiment that although his long journey has just begun, he is already looking forward to his return and further that once he has made his way "homeward" he will "no more...care to rove," or leave his Island Kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

A love like thine, so leal and true,  
 My devious way will guard;  
 And when the rounded world I view,  
 Thy love is my reward.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Kalākaua, "Kalakaua to Kapiolani (The Island King to His Queen), Sonnet), February 1881. In, "Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 29, 1881, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Kalākaua, "Kalakaua ia Kapiolani" *Ka Elele Poakolu*, Aperila 20, 1881. In, "Pretty darned romantic, 1881," <https://nupepa-hawaii.com/> (accessed December 1, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Kalākaua had embarked from Honolulu on the *City of Sydney* on January 20, 1881 and would be the first reigning monarch in the world to undertake such a mission. He arrived back in Honolulu on October 29, 1881 aboard the steamer *Australia*, and received a long awaited homecoming that lasted several days.

<sup>9</sup> Kalākaua, "Kalakaua to Kapiolani (The Island King to His Queen), February 1881. In, "King Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 1881, 30.

O kou aloha me ka manao oiaio,  
 Ke kiai ma ko'u alahele,  
 A ke ike au i ka poepoe honua,  
 I makana na'u ia aloha.<sup>10</sup>

The mele was written in the early part of the grand world tour in which Kalākaua departed from Honolulu in January of 1881; becoming the first head of state in the world to circumnavigate the globe. This mele is a prime example of a mele aloha 'āina expressed through Kalākaua's love for, "his Kingdom, his people and his Queen, especially the latter."<sup>11</sup> I employ the mele here because of the significance to place and place relationships reflected in its origins, as well as the didactic and connotative value inspired by the multi-dimensional (physical, emotional, intellectual, etc.) response to the place name, Hawai'i.<sup>12</sup>

Through Hawaiian literary forms (including oral literature) such as place names, proverbial sayings, chant and songs as well as longer compositions in mele ko'ihonua and mo'olelo, there are innumerable examples of the interchange between the physical description and symbolic meaning in place compositions. According to Hawaiian Religion scholar John Charlot, place chant compositions highlight a "complex interaction between traditional and original perception and between attention to place itself and its symbolic connotations."<sup>13</sup> The interaction between the description and physical character of a place and the symbolic values associated with it is based on a "system of place symbols" that was both widely developed and utilized.<sup>14</sup> Charlot further asserts that the emphasis on the various factors noted will change from composition to composition but the variants are present in

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<sup>10</sup> Kalākaua, "Kalakaua ia Kapiolani" *Ka Elele Poakolu*, Aperila 20, 1881. In, "Pretty darned romantic, 1881," <https://nupepa-hawaii.com/> (accessed December 1, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> "King Kalākaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 1881, 30.

<sup>12</sup> Elbert, "Connotative Value of Hawaiian Place Names." Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*.

Didactic: intended to teach, particularly in having moral instruction as an ulterior motive.

Connotative: (of a word) imply or suggest (an idea or feeling) in addition to the literal or primary meaning.

<sup>13</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

<sup>14</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

every work and can be viewed as synchronous and inseparable.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the depth of knowledge and strata or layers that can be seen are dependent upon context, for example in the mele described above, Kalākaua, recalls “the surf it’s silvery crests display, on that far shore I love,” while he gazes over the ocean, “to catch a glimpse of yonder shore.” Here is a prime example of the interaction of traditional and original perception in response to ‘āina, which in this case would be his gaze over the ocean, juxtaposed with the places where Kalākaua has enjoyed the ocean. A specific surf break is not alluded to, which leaves room for a wide variety of connections of place to be made here; referencing Hawai‘i in the broader context of, “that far shore I [Kalākaua] love.”<sup>16</sup> This description by Kalākaua also allows the listener of this mele to engage on a more personal level; by not prescribing a particular place for the display of the surfs silvery crests. Any variety of place symbols can be invoked adding a more intimate level of emotion. Charlot explains that the description of ‘āina in a Hawaiian worldview is “a very clear description of human emotions,” that are based on this widely used and understood system of place symbols.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, a traditional, widely understood system of place symbols was gradually developed and joined with other symbols that had been distilled from the environment. A very complete symbolic vocabulary was thus formed. As a result, a given poem will seem a pure description of a landscape to an outsider, but, to a Hawaiian, will be a very clear description of human emotions. That is, the two descriptions are simultaneous and inseparable. They are, more correctly, one and the same.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

<sup>16</sup> Kalākaua, “Kalakaua to Kapiolani (The Island King to His Queen), February 1881. In, “King Kalakaua’s Tour Round the World,” *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 29, 1881, 30.

<sup>17</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

<sup>18</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

By highlighting the function of ‘āina in (the aforementioned) Hawaiian literary forms (including oral literature) such as place names, proverbial sayings, chant and songs as well as longer compositions in mele ko‘ihonua and mo‘olelo, I argue in this dissertation that ‘āina can be employed as a kūlana pāno‘ono‘o (remembering function) that provides a continuity of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness. Building upon previous employments of this term by engaging the various definitions of both kūlana and pāno‘ono‘o, I postulate that the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o provides a vantage point from which to view ‘āina within the context of the virtual. The Deleuzian concepts of the virtual and the actual are seen as characterizations of the real, the virtual is the idea of the perpetual past that is never actualized and the actual is constituted as what is present and past.<sup>19</sup> By contextualizing ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o within the virtual, as the past that is never present or actualized, I argue that ‘āina embodies continuity from which ‘āina actualizations and functions of ‘āina emerge. Through an analysis of ‘āina actualizations and the functions of ‘āina in Hawaiian literary forms, I articulate that ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o provides a genealogical framework of relationship to ‘āina and its formative values as well as an interaction of memory and history that sheds light on the philosophy of aloha ‘āina.

Aloha ‘āina is a piko or central point in Hawaiian worldviews which creates a rippling effect of knowledge and awareness that permeates all areas of life.<sup>20</sup> The definition of aloha

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<sup>19</sup> Boundas, Constantin, “Virtual/Virtuality,” 301. In Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 301.

<sup>20</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182-183.

According to Pukui, Haertig & Lee in *Nānā I Ke Kumu* the literal meaning of piko as the “umbilical cord or umbilicus; genital organs; posterior fontanel or crown of the head” comes the concept of the “triple *piko*.” These three piko of the body connected the individual to the past, present and future, a bond which the author states, “transcended time.” “The individual in old Hawaii viewed himself as a link between his long line of forebears and his descendants, even those yet unborn. Three areas of his body were thought most intimately concerned with this bond that transcended time. There were the posterior fontanel, the genital region, male and female, and the umbilicus and umbilical cord with which he came into the world. All were called *piko*.” The posterior fontanel connected the individual to the ancestors, to the ‘aumakua, translated here as “ancestor gods” while the umbilical cord was the “obvious link between the infant and the mother.” The last piko, made each person a progenitor and provided a “creative link in the long and mystic chain form *aumakua* on through the flesh-and-

‘āina in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* is translated as “love of the land or of one’s country; patriotism,” and it further explains that the many sayings connected to ‘āina illustrate the depth and rootedness of this love of the land in the Hawaiian worldview.<sup>21</sup> By placing ‘āina as the piko (center) from which these concepts radiate, I postulate ways that ‘āina is narrating the nation and providing continuity of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.<sup>22</sup>

As stated in the opening ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “the depth is unfathomable, but several strata have indeed been seen (ka hohonu i hiki ‘ole ke ana ‘ia, ‘akā, ua ‘ike ‘ia nō kahi mau papa),” give credence to the depth and layers of aloha ‘āina discourse.<sup>23</sup> In this dissertation, I employ the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o, as a way to engage and expand the philosophy of aloha ‘āina. Furthermore, I have developed functions of this concept called nā mana ‘āina. Nā mana ‘āina has three components, mana ‘āina articulates the genealogical framework of ‘āina relationships, māna ‘āina and mǎnā ‘āina articulate the formative value of ‘āina, as being shaped by the characteristics of ‘āina (māna ‘āina) and by engaging in an exchange of imagery (mǎnā ‘āina).

Due to the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government in 1893, the official national discourse is suspended however, I argue that ‘āina serves as a component of the official discourse contributing to the continuity of the Hawaiian political imaginary. The

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blood offspring of the infinite future.” This concept of the “triple *piko*” sheds light on the way that Hawaiian’s experienced a collective consciousness and the passing of information from one generation to the next.

<sup>21</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 21. In reference to orthography, I refer to Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian Language scholar, Leilani Basham. “When initially quoted, Hawaiian text appears exactly as in the original. Modern orthography and diacritical marks, such as the ‘okina and kahakō, were not used consistently until relatively late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore, much of the text quoted in Hawaiian will not follow these conventions of modern orthography. However, when Hawaiian appears within my own explanatory text and translations, I do use modern orthography in order to help the reader with pronunciation and to facilitate additional research. I also do not italicize words which appear in Hawaiian in my text, although I do provide a brief translation of a word the first time it is used and glossary at the end.” Basham, “Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i.”

<sup>22</sup> In this dissertation, I define Hawaiian national consciousness as the awareness of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state and national identity as a sense of belonging or allegiance to the Hawaiian Kingdom as a nation-state and political community. Although these terms are closely connected I don’t refer to them interchangeable and in most cases refer to both together.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Ōlelo No‘eau (Hawaiian Proverbial Saying) In, Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 119.

Hawaiian Kingdom official discourse, operates in contrast to a U.S. official discourse and the discourse of the Territorial Government or the TG faux-official discourse which work to promote the American Territorial Imaginary.<sup>24</sup> The American Territorial Imaginary, as I define it and use it throughout this dissertation, is the political ideal promoted by the Provisional Government and subsequent Territorial Government in their effort to connect Hawaii to the United States using governmental and social mechanisms concentrating my study on the time period from 1893 - 1940. These opposing discourses are analyzed within the context of nationalization and denationalization which are fluid terms that are representative of the uses either to “invest ownership in a government and give national character to” or to “divest of national character or rights.”<sup>25</sup>

### ***‘Āina Kūlana Pāno‘ono‘o: ‘Āina As a Remembering Function***

The mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka is one of the most well-known epics in Hawaiian traditions and centers around Pele, the akua (god) of the volcano and her youngest and favorite sister Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and their ‘ohana (family). According to Pualani Kanahele, the mo‘olelo is a “story of a family, their relationship with each other, and their responsibility to the land around them.”<sup>26</sup> In “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” Noenoe K. Silva analyzes Joseph Mokuohai

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<sup>24</sup> The use of “TG faux-discourse” is to align with Kamana Beamer in *Nā Mākou ka Mana* and the use of “faux-colonial” in his examination of the “shift in power from a Hawaiian mō‘i to an oligarchy” and the events that were enacted in order to disguise occupation and systematically obliterate Hawaiian national consciousness. Here TG faux-discourse is used to discuss the discourse created by the Oligarchy and subsequent Territorial Government of Hawai‘i as a construct within and relation to the U.S. official discourse.

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017)  
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/denationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017) Denationalization and Nationalization are here after referred specifically in context to the Hawaiian Kingdom and subsequent Hawaiian national consciousness. Denationalization and Americanization are used interchangeably, and refers specifically to the official systematic process of Americanization following the illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States. For clarification purposes, I will specify when referring to events taking place pre-1893 or non-US related and referenced as unofficial (or not resulting from a U.S. Government directive) in parenthesis following the use of the term.

<sup>26</sup> Kanahele, *Holo Mai Pele*, viii.



Poepoe's (1852-1913) account of Pele calling the winds found in "Ka Moolelo Kaa o Hiiaka-i-ka-Poli-o-Pele."<sup>27</sup> Poepoe asserts that this "recitation or publication of the wind names performs a "kulana panoonoo" or what Silva has translated as a "remembering function" which provides a critical juncture for my employment of the concept 'āina kūlana pāno'ono'o."<sup>28</sup> In order to articulate my use of this concept, I provide context of the term from Silva's study of Poepoe (where I was introduced to this term) and explication for the ways that I am taking this term beyond the explicit use by Poepoe or definition by Silva. Furthermore, greater depth is given through further analysis of the various definitions of the words kūlana and pāno'ono'o and is positioned in relation to Deleuze's concept of the virtual.

In the mo'olelo Pele, identified in the article by Silva as "ke Akua Wahine o ka Lua, the Divine Woman of the Volcano" is reciting the wind names of Lehua, Ni'ihau and Kaua'i in response to a request made by the natives of Hā'ena, Kaua'i, specifically the chief Lohi'au for Pele to offer a hula. Rather than offer a hula as was requested, Pele offers a "mele olioli (chant) or a 'hula maoli' (real hula)" in which she recites the winds in order to showcase her mana (knowledge/power) and quell any doubts that she is indeed a native of this place, Kaua'i.<sup>29</sup> Pele offers this mele olioli and lists the names of the winds, specifically referred to as "the wind guardians (na kiai makani)" which are numerous.<sup>30</sup> According to Silva's categorizations, "Poepoe has Pele call an astounding 273 or so winds."<sup>31</sup> Poepoe asks the reader to have patience at this moment of the mo'olelo as the recitation of the winds takes the

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<sup>27</sup> Silva, Noenoe K., "E Lawe I Ke Ō," 239. Poepoe, "Ka moolelo kaa o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele," *Kuokoa Home Rula*, January 10, 1908 - January 20, 1911. Noenoe K. Silva is a Hawaiian scholar, currently teaching Indigenous Politics, in the Political Science Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe is a Hawaiian scholar that wrote avidly in the Hawaiian language newspapers during the turn of the century (1852-1913).

<sup>28</sup> Silva, "E Lawe I Ke Ō," 241.

<sup>29</sup> Silva, "E Lawe I Ke Ō," 237, 246.

<sup>30</sup> Silva, "E Lawe I Ke Ō," 246.

<sup>31</sup> Silva, "E Lawe I Ke Ō," 246.

reader around the islands of Lehua, Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i. Poepoe asserts that this “recitation or publication of the wind names performs a ‘kulana panoonoo’ or remembering function” and provides explicit reasoning as to why this recitation of winds serves this function.<sup>32</sup>

...this is a remembering function [position, quality] of the mo‘olelo, because this mo‘olelo began as a result of the author’s idea to include everything completely—the big current and the small current—for the benefit of the new generations of Hawai‘i in the future.<sup>33</sup>

...a he kulana panoonoo no ia o ka mo‘olelo; aka, aole hiki I ka mea kakau ke alo ae i keia haawina, no ka mea, ua hookumuia keia mo‘olelo mamuli o ka manao ana o ka mea kakau e pau pono na mea a pau—ke au-nui a me ke au-iki—o keia moolelo, no ka pomaikai o ka hanauna hou o Hawaii nei ma keia hope aku.<sup>34</sup>

Silva highlights the work of Charlot by pointing out that “wind chants...[are] prime examples of list chants” and that these list chants “were used to preserve and perpetuate knowledge in organized ways.”<sup>35</sup> Poepoe states, and Silva agrees that the reproduction of this literature is not only to honor the knowledge of the past but is for the benefit of future generations in Hawai‘i.<sup>36</sup>

Poepoe’s idea to include everything completely for future generations not only allows but encourages more inquiry. This is indicative of the phrase, “Ahu kupanaha iā Hawai‘i ‘imi

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<sup>32</sup> Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 241.

<sup>33</sup> Poepoe, “Ka moolelo kano o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele,” *Kuokoa Home Rula*, April 24, 1908. In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 241. (Translation by Silva) (Addition by Silva)

<sup>34</sup> Poepoe, “Ka moolelo kano o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele,” *Kuokoa Home Rula*, April 24, 1908. In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 241. (Translation by Silva)

<sup>35</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 4-5. In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 242. (My addition)

<sup>36</sup> Poepoe, “Ka moolelo kano o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele,” *Kuokoa Home Rula*, April 24, 1908. In, Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 241-242.

loa [translated as] Wonder heaped on wonder in regard to Hawai‘i searching far.”<sup>37</sup> Charlot further explains that Kepelino “sees, on the one hand, the details of Hawaiian culture and, the other, Hawai‘i on the great search.”<sup>38</sup> Which is expressed in this quote by Kepelino:

E noi‘i wale mai no ka haole, a ‘a‘ole e pau na hana a Hawai‘i  
‘imi loa.

Let the haole freely research us in detail, but the doings of deep  
delving Hawai‘i will not be exhausted.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, Poepoe asks the readers for patience and to not be easily distracted as he recited the wind names, even if the detailed list may appear long or monotonous. So why would the preservation and perpetuation of this knowledge, in this case the name of the winds be important to recite? What insights does the remembering function provide? Here I assert that in building on the enumeration of Poepoe and later Silva, the term *kūlana pāno‘ono‘o* or remembering function can be employed to articulate *‘āina* as a remembering function or the concept *‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o*. By analyzing the ways that *‘āina* is actualized in relation to the constant connection with the world around us I argue that a pattern emerges that provides insight to the impacts *‘āina* has on Hawaiian epistemology and ontology.

An analysis of the various definitions of the words *kūlana* and *pāno‘ono‘o* are further deconstructed in relation to the translation of “remembering function” provided by Silva in order to provide depth to the concept *‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o*. The definitions are derived from two Hawaiian language dictionaries, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* by Lorrin Andrews, which was compiled by early missionaries in 1826 to translate the bible into Hawaiian. This manuscript was later taken up by the author and expanded and made into the

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<sup>37</sup> Kepelino In, Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 117.

<sup>38</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 117.

<sup>39</sup> Kepelino In, Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 117.

present form and was first made available in 1865.<sup>40</sup> The second source, entitled *Hawaiian Dictionary* by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, was first compiled in 1950 with a major work of revision that began in 1972 and is a source that drew from numerous Hawaiian language texts.<sup>41</sup> As previously stated, Poepoe asserts that the recitation of the winds performs “a he kulana panoonoo no ia o ka moolelo,” translated as “this is a remembering function [position, quality] of the mo‘olelo.”<sup>42</sup> The definition of *kūlana* from Pukui & Elbert, could be broadened in this context from its use as “position, quality” to include “place,” (see full definition below). Andrews’ definition of the term *kūlana* also provides insight in emphasizing “place” through the following: “a place where many things are collected together” including “a meeting or collection of persons.”

*Kūlana*

Andrews.<sup>43</sup>

s. Ku and lana to float. A place where many things are collected together, as a village, a garden; a meeting or collection of persons; e hele ana oukou i hea? E hele ana i o, i ke kulana pule, i.e., to a meeting which is held only once at a place or occasionally.

Pukui & Elbert.<sup>44</sup>

*kū.lana* nvs. Station, rank, title, condition, position, place, quality, grade, rating, reputation (see ex., *kuene*), stance, attitude, poise, carriage, posture, situation, patch, site; outstanding, prominent (*kū*, stand, + *-lana*, nominalizer). Cf. *kūlanakauhale*. Mamule o ke *kūlana*, by reason of position, ex

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<sup>40</sup> Andrews, Lorrin. *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. Honolulu: Island Heritage Printing, 2003.

<sup>41</sup> Pūku‘i, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert. *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986.

<sup>42</sup> Poepoe, “Ka moolelo kano o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele,” *Kuokoa Home Rula*, April 24, 1908. In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō”, 241. (Translation by Silva.)

<sup>43</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 310. [*kulana*]

<sup>44</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 179. [*kūlana*]

officio. Kūlana o ka nohona, standard of living. Kūlana  
 ki'eki'e, high position, rank, station. Kūlana makahiki, age.  
 Kūlana ipu, melon patch. Nā kūlana o kēia kū'ai ho'olilo, the  
 conditions of this sale. (PNP tu'ulanga.)

By juxtaposing the definition of the word kūlana given by Andrews and Pukui & Elbert, I emphasize the meaning of kūlana as a place where many things—for example, the winds—collect or gather together as in the mo'olelo of Pele and Hi'iaka. Furthermore, it is also of value to understand place in the mo'olelo, as “a meeting or collection of persons.”<sup>45</sup> It is here in the mo'olelo that Poepoe asks the reader to pause, be patient, and shift their attention to what is coming next, the calling of the winds. This is also the site of remembering the place Kaua'i and surrounding islands, through the calling of “the wind guardians ('na kiai makani')” from Nihoa to Kaua'i recited in the mo'olelo by Pele.<sup>46</sup>

This recitation or remembering is expressed in the term, “pāno'ono'o,” which is translated by Pūku'i & Elbert, as “to remember” through the word “ho'omana'o.”<sup>47</sup> The definition is provided further depth with the word mana'o, meaning “to remember, recall, commemorate, reflect deeply on, meditate.”<sup>48</sup> The definition is echoed in the Andrew's dictionary with, “hoomanao” meaning “to think; to turn the mind upon; to call to mind; to cause to consider; to remember that which is past.”<sup>49</sup>

Pāno'ono'o

Andrews.<sup>50</sup>

v. To be without fish, as the sea beach; panoonooia kahakai e ka lawaia  
 moku ke alii.

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<sup>45</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 310. [kulana]

<sup>46</sup> Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 246.

<sup>47</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 315; 81. [pāno'ono'o; ho'omana'o]

<sup>48</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 237. [mana'o]

<sup>49</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 191-192.

<sup>50</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 457.

Pukui & Elbert<sup>51</sup>

1. Same as ho‘omana‘o. 2. Same as pānoanoa. 3. n. A seaweed.

Ho‘omana‘o<sup>52</sup>

To remember. See mana‘o.

Mana‘o. Ho‘omana‘o.<sup>53</sup>

To remember, recall, commemorate, reflect deeply on, meditate.

Pānoanoa.<sup>54</sup>

1. Redup of panao. 2. Vs. Scarce, very rare. Pānoanoa ka mā‘alo‘alo a ka i‘a, fish rarely passed there.

Although the use of pāno‘ono‘o clearly translates to the act of remembering or ho‘omana‘o.

A further break down of this word as pā and no‘ono‘o provide clarity to the use of this

concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o as it is intended to go beyond basic memory recall or even

the process of thinking. This further deconstruction is especially useful in light of the

translation of both pāno‘ono‘o and pānoanoa and its connection to the scarcity of fish or

panoa that translates to “barren, arid, dessert, dry, hot, parched [or] dry coral bank, as at low tide.”<sup>55</sup>

In Pukui & Elbert, the focus in this context is on the fourth use and definition of the word pā, “said of drinking, hearing, feeling, and activity of wind, sun, moon...; to touch, get, contact, reach, gain control of, hit, experience; to blow (as wind), shine (as moon or sun) hear, drink.”<sup>56</sup> The inclusivity and range of this definition reflects the multi-sensory (relating to sensation, physical senses) nature of the word pā illustrated in the example from Andrew’s definition, “ke *pa* mai nei ka makani, the wind *strikes* us.”<sup>57</sup> Or from Pukui & Elbert, “*pa i ka*

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<sup>51</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 315. [pāno‘ono‘o]

<sup>52</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 81. [ho‘omana‘o]

<sup>53</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 237. [mana‘o]

<sup>54</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 315. [pānoanoa]

<sup>55</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 315. [pāno‘ono‘o, pānoanoa]

<sup>56</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 296. [pā, 4th Entry]

<sup>57</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 432. (7th Entry)

*leo*, to be struck by a voice, i.e., to be told something that hurts the feelings, to be rebuked.”<sup>58</sup>

Furthermore, the use of the prefix *ho‘o-* indicates an action “to cause one thing to approach or touch another.”<sup>59</sup> *Pā* is especially fitting in the context of this dissertation as the elements of nature, including the wind, sun, moon, water and so on, have an explicit position in this multi-sensory interaction. Further connecting the connotations of the term *kūlana* as place, or gathering place in addition to its use as function and quality and contributing the addition of the word *‘āina* in connection to the term *kūlana pāno‘ono‘o* and the development of the concept, *‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o*.

*Pā*

Andrews<sup>60</sup>

To touch; to tap lightly; to strike gently. Puk. 19:12. 2. To beat; to strike heavily; to strike suddenly, as a gust of wind. Iob.

1:19. Ke pa mai nei ka makani, the wind strikes us. 7. Hoo.

Causative of most of the foregoing definitions. To lay hold of; to cause one thing to approach or touch another. 9. To sound; to ring, as metal struck; to strike upon the ear, as music; to break; to crack.

Pukui & Elbert.<sup>61</sup>

4. nvs., nvi. A broadly used *loa‘a*-type word (Gram. 4.4), said of drinking, hearing, feeling, and activity of wind, sun, moon; also used as a noun with similar meanings (see ex., *pualalea*).

To touch, get, contact, reach, gain control of, hit, experience; to blow (as wind), shine (as moon or sun), hear, drink.

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<sup>58</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 296. [*pā*, 4th Entry]

<sup>59</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 432. (7th Entry)

<sup>60</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 432. This is the seventh entry of the term *pa* in the Andrews dictionary. Entries 1,2, 6, 7, 9 are included here, 3,4,5,8 were excluded for length and the other entries were inclusive of these definitions to a certain extent.

<sup>61</sup> Pukui, & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 296. [*pā*, 4th Entry]

The prefix pa- or pā- can also have the general meaning of “in the nature of, having the quality of,” in connection to its base word.<sup>62</sup> The definition of no‘ono‘o, translates as the act of thinking, and reflecting; “to reflect on the past as well as to consider, as when you give an opinion.” Pukui & Elbert, clarify further that the no‘ono‘o is an intellectual process that differs from a “thought, idea” or even “to think” which is defined as the word mana‘o.<sup>63</sup>

No‘ono‘o

Andrews.<sup>64</sup>

Noonoo.v. See NOO. To think; to reflect; to consider in order to give an opinion.2. To meditate; to think of the past; to think with approbation.3. Hoo. To cause to think; to think and act the man; to act wisely; e hookanaka

Noonoo.s. A thought; a device; a subject of meditation; in the plural, thoughts; opinions; ua hoopuka ia mai na noonoo, the thoughts (opinions) were openly expressed; an invention; seeking something new.

Noonoo. adj. Thinking; reflecting; skillful; planning; thoughtful.

Noo.<sup>65</sup> v. To seek; to search after; to reflect; to turn over and over in one's mind; to exercise the thinking powers.

Pukui & Elbert.<sup>66</sup>

no‘o.no‘o. nvt. Thought, reflection, thinking, meditation; to think, reflect, meditate, concentrate; to consider, as a case at law; thoughtful, mental. Cf. mana‘o, no‘ono‘o ‘ole. No‘ono‘o

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<sup>62</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 296. [pā, 4th Entry]

<sup>63</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 237. [mana‘o] In Pukui & Elbert, mana‘o. nvt. thought, idea, belief, opinion, theory, thesis, intention, meaning, suggestion, mind (Mat. 22.37), desire, want; to think, estimate, anticipate, expect (see ex., lele‘oi), suppose, mediate, deem, consider (not the intellectual process of no‘ono‘o).

<sup>64</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 425.

<sup>65</sup> Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 425. Also see entry N-O-O-A, v. For *nooia*, passive of *noo*. To be sought after; to be looked for; to be obtained by searching.

<sup>66</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 271.



makua, to be thoughtful and considerate of parents and elders,  
 filial. No‘ono‘o pono, to think carefully, meditate, concentrate.  
 No‘ono‘o mua, to anticipate, estimate (see ‘ōlelo no‘ono‘o).  
 No‘ono‘o hāiki, narrow-minded; a narrow mind. No‘ono‘o  
 laulā, broad-minded. No‘ono‘o nui, to think much, concentrate,  
 meditate; meditation. ho‘o.no‘o.no‘o To cause to think, reflect;  
 reminiscent, recalling to mind, remembering. Cf. more  
 common ho‘omana‘o

Through the various definitions of both kūlana and pāno‘ono‘o, and the previous assignment (explicit uses or translations) by Poepoe and Silva, I postulate that this concept provides a vantage point from which to access Hawaiian knowledge systems. Within this concept, there is fixity and fluidity of movement expressed through ‘station, rank, position and place’ that can be juxtaposed with the meaning, ‘to float.’ This movement, is also expressed by simultaneously placing the effect of colliding bodies, such as the wind against our skin, together with the actualizations of thoughts, such as no‘ono‘o makua, “to be thoughtful and considerate of parents and elders” which also implies actions that are carried out in caring for parents and elders. Throughout this dissertation, the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o is positioned within the context of aloha ‘āina and is examined in relation to Deleuze’s concept of the virtual. As mentioned previously, the relationship of the virtual and the actual for Deleuze, are characterizations of the real, the virtual is the idea of the perpetual past that is never actualized and that “any actual present passes only because all presents are constituted both as present and as past.”<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o provides a foundation for analyzing the actualization of ‘āina relationships in the context of the virtual/real, that “in all past presents the entire past is conserved in itself, and this includes the

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<sup>67</sup> Boundas, Constantin, “Virtual/Virtuality,” 301. In Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 301.

past that has never been present (the virtual).”<sup>68</sup> Through the virtual, ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o is understood as the past that is never present, rather it is a component of the process of what is actualized and can be seen in the basics of literary forms including vocabulary, place names and ‘ōlelo no‘eau. By analyzing relationships to ‘āina in a Hawaiian worldview, I provide context for my use of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o in narrating the nation, and serving as an agent of aloha ‘āina.

### *Aloha ‘Āina*

Aloha ‘āina informs a Hawaiian worldview that permeates all areas of life. The implications and connections that can be drawn from aloha ‘āina are innumerable, as it is one of the foundations of Hawaiian epistemology, ontology and Hawaiian culture as a whole. The basic definition of aloha ‘āina translates to “love of the land or of one’s country; patriotism” and as ‘ōiwi scholar Mary Kawena Pukui notes, the understanding of aloha ‘āina is an old concept and the number (possibly in the thousands) of ‘ōlelo no‘eau that speak to this term is just one indicator of its centrality to Hawaiian life and ways of knowing.<sup>69</sup> In this section, I focus on the two definitions of aloha ‘āina: love of the land and love of country (patriotism) to provide a foundation for ways that aloha ‘āina informs national identity and consciousness.

Through ‘āina actualizations, such as Hawaiian vocabulary, place names and ‘ōlelo no‘eau that are based on ‘āina relationships, or what I am referring to as ‘āina base knowledge (base as foundational), I am able to look at the ways that Hawaiians expressed this connection to ‘āina. The term ‘āina base knowledge is used here to identify a separation between smaller literary genres (vocabulary, place names and ‘ōlelo no‘eau) from larger

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<sup>68</sup> Boundas, Constantin, “Virtual/Virtuality,” 301. In Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 301.

<sup>69</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 21. [aloha ‘āina]

literary genres such as mo‘olelo (histories, stories) and mele ‘āina (place chants and songs) in order to engage aloha ‘āina discourse within a more manageable framework. The second definition of aloha ‘āina, love of country (patriotism) highlights the importance of the interconnection between ‘āina as the environment to the geographical as territory. By articulating the importance and value of this interconnection, aloha ‘āina as love of country sets an important aspect of the political community which is connected through the territorial boundaries of homeland. By identifying the importance of the relationship between the two definitions, aloha ‘āina as love of the land and love of country (patriotism) is positioned as a piko (central point) in this dissertation to provide an understanding of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o, or the ways that ‘āina serves as a remembering function. ‘Āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o builds upon the interaction between the variant and interconnected definitions of aloha ‘āina by juxtaposing ‘āina base knowledge as a “memorized guide to his [or her] perception.”<sup>70</sup>

In *The Queen and I*, Hawaiian scholar Sydney Lehua Iaukea, expresses the significance of the connection between ‘āina and memory, by articulating ‘āina as a container of memories of vital information that is capable of entering a state of reciprocal exchange of information. Iaukea asserts that this connection to ‘āina, gives her the sense “that the land *itself* keeps track of our social interactions and ultimately reveals the truth of its secrets.”<sup>71</sup> Iaukea builds on the Hawaiian tradition that ‘āina holds the history of place, and asserts that ‘āina is a container of memories, that holds the “practical and epistemological memories of encounters” and through our relationship with the ‘āina we are inspired to connect to the these encounters and create encounters that inform each other.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 212.

<sup>71</sup> Iaukea, *The Queen and I*, 132. (Authors emphasis.)

<sup>72</sup> Iaukea, *The Queen and I*, 14.

Land, body and memory all inform one another. The land, extending out and into the ocean, holds the practical and epistemological memories of encounters. The body is the agent, the participant in the environment, and the container of memories. For Hawaiians in the past, vital information was relayed through the environment, and this memory of ka ‘āina (the land, that which feeds) affected close interpersonal relationships and societal structures. Vestiges of that connection to ka ‘āina still exist in places and still hold valuable information about who we are.<sup>73</sup>

The concept of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o builds upon this concept of ‘āina as a container of memories and aligns with that notion that ‘āina contains the “practical and epistemological memories of encounters” as it has previously been expressed that the virtual is the perpetual past and through the perpetual past goes beyond human memory and engagement. The concept of kūlana pāno‘ono‘o not only keeps track of engagement through the perpetual past, I argue that it creates and guides engagement of ‘āina relationships contributing to aloha ‘āina discourse.

*Aloha ‘Āina: “love of the land...”*

The proliferation and creative use of knowledge of ‘ōlelo no‘eau, place names and Hawaiian vocabulary as a whole, specifically those centered on ‘āina, emphasize the relevance of aloha ‘āina in Hawaiian epistemology and ontology. Hawaiian scholar, Kapā Oliveira comments that, “terms such as ‘āina, aloha ‘āina (love for the land), and kua‘āina (the people who carry the burden of the land on their backs) all reflect the undeniable bond

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<sup>73</sup> Iaukea, *The Queen and I*, 14. (Authors emphasis.)

between ‘āina and Kānaka.”<sup>74</sup> Linguist, Samuel E. Elbert, asserts in the introduction of *Place Names of Hawaii* that even a rough estimate of place names would be impossible and that the 4,000 entries contained in the 1974 edition could be among “a hundred thousand?” or “a million?”<sup>75</sup> of the actual place references in the Hawaiian world. Elbert articulates that the largest proportions of place names are found in proverbial sayings, narratives (such as mo‘olelo and ka‘ao), poetry, music and other genres, are reflective of aloha ‘āina, which he defines as “love for the land and the people of the land.”<sup>76</sup> The importance of ‘āina in ‘ōlelo no‘eau, place names and Hawaiian vocabulary is further substantiated through the research on ‘ōlelo no‘eau by Oliveira. In her doctoral research, and subsequent book, *Ancestral Places*, Oliveira documented that “nearly 40 percent, or, 1,149 of the 2,942 proverbs in ‘*Ōlelo No ‘eau* are related to places,” clearly showing the value placed in this relationship.<sup>77</sup> The vast scope of ‘āina base knowledge, functioned to express “close ties with the land and the seas,” as a particularity of Hawaiian culture, which according to Elbert, “seems completely lacking [in] the Euro-American proverbial sayings.”<sup>78</sup>

‘Āina base knowledge provides valuable insight for understanding the ways in which land relationships are formed through the use of language in Hawaiian tradition. Charlot explains the reciprocal nature between language and cultural conditioning stating that, “since language is connected to culture, [and] the entire process from perception to vocabulary to the transmission of knowledge through language and the formation of world views—indeed,

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<sup>74</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Place*, 92.

PEM. kua. ‘āina. nvs. Country (as distinct from the city), countryside; person from the country, rustic, backwoodsman; of the country, countrified, rustic, rural. Lit., back land. ho‘o.kua. ‘āina To act like one from the country; countrified, rustic.

<sup>75</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mo‘okini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, x.

<sup>76</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names,” 117-133; 118. add in Oliveira. and Pukui.

<sup>77</sup> Oliveira, “Ke Alalnui Kīke‘eke‘e O Maui,” 268. [Dissertation] Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 87.

<sup>78</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Values of Hawaiian Place Names,” 121.

the very way we think—is culturally conditioned.”<sup>79</sup> The practice of observation and listening is a key component in the Hawaiian worldview and is readily showcased through such practices as naming of place and the application of ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Through the naming of place we are exposed to a wide variety and range of the “multi-dimensional response of the Hawaiian to location,” (multi-dimensional as; physical, intellectual, emotional) and the symptomatic process from which it is derived.<sup>80</sup> This process was no arbitrary matter, place names were considered “as significant and connected to their referents as personal names and conferred with equal solemnity.”<sup>81</sup> Naming is clearly a very important activity in Hawaiian culture, as evidenced in the sheer number of place names and ‘ōlelo no‘eau that are based on the relationship with ‘āina, and drew from a wide range of societal categories including occupation, locality and religion.

The farmer knew his soils and water sources; the snarer, the birds’ favorite trees. People knew the winds around their homes, the course of the sun through the seasons, the birds and the fishes, which arrived at different times from mysterious distances. There were even priestly specialist in the selection of sites for houses and temples, with elaborate, codified sets of criteria.<sup>82</sup>

As a result of the intimate nature between Hawaiians and ‘āina and the base knowledge created through this relationship, “important cultural signatures [are] etched into the Hawaiian landscape.”<sup>83</sup> According to Hawaiian Studies scholar Kekuēwa Kikiloi, place names serve as cultural signatures that document traditional histories and stories that provide evidence for the ways that Hawaiians have transformed “geographical spaces into cultural

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<sup>79</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 211.

<sup>80</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 57.

<sup>81</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 58.

<sup>82</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

<sup>83</sup> Kikiloi, “Rebirth of an Archipelago,” 75. (My addition)

places enriched with meaning and significance.”<sup>84</sup> This process documents the way Hawaiians live and relate with the features and phenomenon as reflected through the practice of observation and listening which create a space beyond the foundational to longer literary genres such as mo‘olelo both as historical accounts and stories (such as myth and legend) as well as mele aloha ‘āina (place chants and songs).

‘Āina base knowledge also had implications beyond an articulation of the Hawaiians keen observations of the environment or the teaching value that they possessed. Riddling and “displays of wit” were an example of the way this knowledge was used beyond memory retention and allowed for the use of kaona (double meaning) to make seemingly tangential or unrelated connections through ‘āina. Elbert states that Hawaiians, like most Polynesians, are “fond of proverbial sayings that are memorized verbatim, and are used less for didactic purposes than as displays of wit, and as praise of land...the core of these sayings is the double meaning in the place names.”<sup>85</sup> As an example, the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “Eia iho ko hoa like o Malelewa‘a,” uses the place name of Malelewa‘a on the island of Kaua‘i, not for a specific characteristic of the place but rather as a play on malele, which means ‘strewn about,’ to remark on an untidy person.

‘ŌN text: Eia iho ko hoa like o Malelewa‘a.

Translation: Here is a suitable companion for you, Malelewa‘a.

Explanation: Remark about an untidy person. A play on malele (strewn about) in Malelewa‘a, a place on Kaua‘i.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Kikiloi, “Rebirth of an Archipelago,” 75.

<sup>85</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names,” 118.

Connotative, an idea or quality that a word makes you think about in addition to its meaning.

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/connotation>. Didactic, designed or intended to teach people something. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/didactic>.

<sup>86</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No ‘eau*, [‘ŌN, 301]

Through a play on the connotative value (the idea or quality that a word makes you think about in addition to its meaning) we are able to see the didactic value (designed or intended to teach), as well as insight into the ways in which this memorization and manipulation of knowledge was used to innovate and create on the basis of tradition.<sup>87</sup> The “continual interaction between tradition and experience” as the grounds for creation and innovation provides insight into the way I am articulating the rhizomatic nature of aloha ‘āina. Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of the rhizome makes connections through “its etymological meaning, where ‘rhizo’ means combining form and the biological term ‘rhizome’ describes a form of plant that can extend itself through its underground horizontal tuber-like root system and develop new plants.”<sup>88</sup> In *A Thousand Plateaus* they convey that the rhizome is an acentered and nonhierarchical system that “operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots” in order to connect various points regardless of their seemingly variant degrees of separation.

Let us summarize the principal characteristics of a rhizome: unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature; it brings into play very different regimes of signs, and even nonsign states. The rhizome is reducible neither to the One nor the multiple. It is not the One that becomes Two or even directly three, four, five, etc... It is composed not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overflows.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 211.

<sup>88</sup> Colman, “Rhizome.” In, Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary Revised Edition*, 232 Definition of Rhizome :a somewhat elongated usually horizontal subterranean plant stem that is often thickened by deposits of reserve food material, produces shoots above and roots below, and is distinguished from a true root in possessing buds, nodes, and usually scalelike leaves.<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhizome>

<sup>89</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 21.



This concept of the rhizome is also confirmed in the interconnectivity of the various elements of Hawaiian culture and the understanding that a “presentation can use any number of starting points and still be obliged to repeat itself.”<sup>90</sup> These interconnections continue to grow as one builds ‘āina base knowledge. In the Hawaiian world view, this understanding of interconnectivity often highlighted the multi-dimensional response which can be attributed specifically to ‘āina and that the experience could produce unique “sensations or feelings” that were wide in range and had the ability to “be overpowering.”<sup>91</sup> Experience was built upon the guides provided in ‘āina base knowledge, as exhibited through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “ma ka hana ka ‘ike” or “in working one learns.”<sup>92</sup> The importance placed on personal experience as opposed to representation is articulated through the terms, “*lohe ‘ōlelo*, hearsay about something and seeing it with one’s own eyes, *‘ike maka*.”<sup>93</sup>

‘ŌN text: He lohe ‘ōlelo iā Kalehuawehe, he ‘ike maka iā  
Kuaokalā .

Translation: Have only heard of Kalehuawehe, but have seen  
Kuaokalā .

Explanation: That is only hearsay so I do not know much about  
it; but this I have seen and know about.<sup>94</sup>

The mele ‘āina entitled “Hanohano Hanalei” (Glorious Hanalei) written by Alfred Alohikea highlights the experience that the author has with place and creates a space for the listener to engage with these ideas of memory, perception and experience. Alohikea identifies characteristics traditionally associated with Hanalei such as the ocean, the mountains and the fresh waters there. Charlot highlights that the lyrics not only describe the powerful imagery

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<sup>90</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

<sup>92</sup> Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, [‘ŌN, 2088].

<sup>93</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 336. (Author’s emphasis)

<sup>94</sup> Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, [‘ŌN, 767]. Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 336.

of what Alohihea sees but express the feelings that overcome him when in the presence of this place.

Alohihea sees the heavy rain, the dense mists and dew settling over the uplands, and the breakers drenching the salt spray the roses growing in the sand. He also knows, looking within himself, the cold throbbing ache happening in his skin. As mentioned earlier, skin reactions, in the Hawaiian view, can be responses of the body to unseen communications. Alohihea's whole body reacts as multi-dimensionally to the valley as does his vision. He can address the mist of the land and call it cherished by Hanalei.<sup>95</sup>

Within this multi-dimensionality of experiencing place is the actual being in that specific space and place, and the affects and sensations associated with his experience with the heavy rain of Hanalei. In this mele, we can see that 'āina is used to connect people to a deeper understanding of the elements of a particular place—the rain, wind, ocean sprays, famous groves and so on— as well as “its customs, history legends, and religious spirit.”<sup>96</sup>

Ha'aheo wale ho'i 'oe  
 Ka ua kikoni 'ili  
 'Ili aku ka mana'o  
 I ka lihilihi kai a'o Manalau  
 A lauāhea ke 'ala  
 'Inikiniki mai ana  
 Me he ala ku'u hoa pili 'ia  
 Noho aku wau  
 Ho'olono o ke kai

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<sup>95</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 67.

<sup>96</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

Proud are you  
 Of the rain that pelts the skin  
 The mind goes forth  
 To the edge of the sea of Manalau  
 Surrounding us is a perfume  
 That seems to pinch the skin  
 As a lover pinches  
 I sit quietly  
 Listening to the sea<sup>97</sup>

As the listener, we add to existing ‘āina based knowledge. Another layer, is added if we have knowledge of Hanalei, our ‘ike maka or our knowing is placed against that of Alohikea’s description. As we have seen through the authors above, Hawaiian tradition tells us that ‘āina holds the history and memory of place, through experience and memories of encounters that are guided both intuitively and through memorized guides embedded in ‘āina base knowledge. Through our relationship with the ‘āina we are not only inspired to connect to these encounters and we are inspired to create new encounters that will inform each other.

*Aloha ‘Āina: “love of...one’s country; patriotism”*

The definition of aloha ‘āina in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* is rooted within an ethnological context as well as through the political community connecting ‘āina as the environment and as territory (geographical), impressing upon the importance of this intersection. In Pukui’s translation therefore, aloha ‘āina expresses love of the land as both independent and interdependent of the term patriotism through the separation of love of the land and love of country. Elbert, a contemporary of Pukui and one of the co-authors of the *Hawaiian Dictionary* translated aloha ‘āina—“love for the land and the people of the land,”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Alohikea, Alfred, “Hanalei Bay.” [http://huapala.org/Han/Hanalei\\_Bay.html](http://huapala.org/Han/Hanalei_Bay.html)

<sup>98</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names,” 117-133; 118.

which is significant because he included the people, one of the primary factors of a nation, in his definition. Silva expresses that, aloha ‘āina (defined by the author as love of the land), “differs significantly in connotation and cultural coding from “patriotic.””<sup>99</sup>

The Hawaiian term [aloha ‘āina] is not gendered male, as “patriotic” is, nor does it share the Western genealogy of the term “patriotic”. Instead, it has a genealogy of its own, based in traditional Kanaka cosmology. Throughout the struggle Kanaka Maoli who worked to retain the sovereignty of their own nation called themselves “ka po‘e aloha ‘āina” (the people who loved the land).<sup>100</sup>

While I agree that the interpretation of aloha ‘āina as “love of the land” can be argued independently of “love of country; patriotism,” and that the gendered connotations of “patriotism” are not applicable to the understanding of aloha ‘āina, Silva alludes to the convergence of these definitions as love of nation in her argument that “aloha ‘āina (love of the land) was a cornerstone of resistance” during an era of heightened political turmoil during Kalākaua’s reign and through the U.S. military occupation, which she asserts, continues still.<sup>101</sup> Through the companion organizations, the Hui Aloha ‘Āina and Hui Aloha ‘Āina o Nā Wāhine, which were translated into English by the members of the organization as the Hawaiian Patriotic League, I highlight two examples of the employment of aloha ‘āina as love of country. The first being that these organizations were formed immediately following the protest filed by Queen Lili‘uokalani on January 17, 1893, in order to protect the independent autonomy of Hawai‘i. Another example given by Silva is the term used by “Kanaka Maoli who worked to retain the sovereignty of their own nation who called

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<sup>99</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 130.

<sup>100</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 130-131.

<sup>101</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 11.

themselves “ka po‘e aloha ‘āina” (people who love the land).”<sup>102</sup> Silva includes the first two article of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina constitution, shown below:

Article 1. The name of the association shall be the Hawaiian Patriotic League (Ka Hui Aloha Aina).

Article 2. The object of this association is to preserved and maintain, by all legal and peaceful means and measures, the independent autonomy of the island of Hawaii nei; and, if the preservation of our independence be rendered impossible, our object shall then be to exert all peaceful and legal efforts to secure the Hawaiian people and citizens the continuance of their civil rights.<sup>103</sup>

Silva asserts the po‘e aloha ‘āina adapted concepts of aloha ‘āina to ‘Euro-American concepts and structures of nationhood and nationalism’ as a form of resistance,” and that they did this despite their understanding and awareness that “it was those very structures that were overtaking them.”<sup>104</sup> This indicates that the po‘e aloha ‘āina were aware of the unique political context that aloha ‘āina provided for the foundation of their resistance to American imperialism and the protection of their rights as members of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

According to Religious Studies scholar Steven Grosby, “the love that one has for one’s nation is designated by the term ‘patriotism’,” and that patriotism should allow for varying pursuits and conceptions of the nation by its’ members and implies a “commitment of the well-being of one’s country” including the use of politics to work out differing conceptions held by the various members of any particular nation.<sup>105</sup> Grosby further explains that because this term love, is so widely used to express the various attachments such as, “to one’s

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<sup>102</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 130-131.

<sup>103</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, . Blount Report, 929-30.

<sup>104</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 11.

<sup>105</sup> Grosby, Steven Elliott. *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

paramour, children, friends and god” it creates a level of difficulty in distinguishing the vitality to these various types of attachments.

The preoccupation with vitality involves establishing different kinds of limits or boundaries to respectively different kinds of relations of vitality. Humans draw a distinction between their own children and those of another. One usually does not love another’s children as if they were one’s own. Such a limitation on the recognition of, and the love for what is understood to be one’s own is a consequence of the preoccupation with the continuation of the self, both its biological and cultural components. The love that one has for one’s nation is designated by the term ‘patriotism’.<sup>106</sup>

However, a common factor in these instances is self-transcendence and that in understanding the term patriotism, “it may be more helpful to distinguish the love for one’s paramour or children from the ‘love’ of one’s nation ... as signifying attachments of loyalty to a territorial community.”<sup>107</sup> Within this understanding of aloha ‘āina as ‘love of the land, love of country; patriotism,’ the relationship to ‘āina has been shown in a myriad of ways and as stated previously these relationships are so pervasive that it would be impossible to discuss them all in any one context. Perhaps one of the most profound understandings of aloha ‘āina are expressed through mele ko‘ihonua (cosmogonic genealogies) and the “Hawaiian conception of the world [as] related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage.”<sup>108</sup>

Traditions such as the *Kumulipo* place ‘āina as a central cultural concept and reinforce the use of mo‘okū‘auhau as the continuity of the Hawaiian world. In the translation of the

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<sup>106</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 16.

<sup>107</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 16.

<sup>108</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desire*, 2.

*Kumulipo* by Lili‘uokalani, which she began as a political prisoner in 1895, she asserts that the *Kumulipo* connects “the earlier kings of ancient history with the monarchs latest upon the throne” and that “this chant is a contribution to the history of the Hawaiian Islands.”<sup>109</sup> For Beamer, the title translation as “*An Account of the Creation of the World according to Hawaiian Tradition*,” reveals her intent to carve out a space for Hawaiian knowledge alongside other such prominent accounts as the Vedas, the Book of Genesis, and the works of Darwin.”<sup>110</sup> Silva further articulates that mele ko‘ihonua provide a vital component to understanding aloha ‘āina which is established in the genealogical and familial relationship to land as the “islands were said to have been conceived and born like human beings, of the same parents, Papahānaumoku ‘Papa who gives birth to the islands’ and Wākea, the sky father, and Ho‘ohōkūkalani, ‘she who creates the stars in the heavens.’”<sup>111</sup> The mele ko‘ihonua of Papa and Wākea has also been connected to the *Kumulipo*, further supporting the genealogical importance and connection between kanaka and ‘āina in this text. In the Kalākaua text, Hāloa arrives in the 12<sup>th</sup> wā, or epoch.<sup>112</sup> The employment of mele ko‘ihonua as a central component in relation to aloha ‘āina shows the importance of the intersection between the ethnological context as well as the political.

Through the pervasive nature of aloha ‘āina (in it’s widest understanding) we can see why it is one of the major foci in Hawaiian tradition, the other being the family, and how through this philosophy all Hawaiian life will connect. Charlot asserts that this interconnection of cultural elements is also something found throughout Polynesia and that a “true understanding of Polynesian culture demands a global apprehension of how the many

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<sup>109</sup> Lili‘uokalani, *Kumulipo*, Introduction. In Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 1.

<sup>110</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 1.

<sup>111</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 11.

<sup>112</sup> Beckwith, *Kumulipo*, 205-231.

dimensions of life, so often separated in Western culture, unite in an experience that give it its distinctive quality.”<sup>113</sup> The definition of aloha ‘āina, as love of the land and love of country, patriotism provides a space to cogitate and examine the interconnections of ‘āina through notions of homeland and a defined territory being the Hawaiian Islands in order to provide context to Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.

***Nationalization: Notions of Territory and Homeland***

Pili pono ka lā i Papa‘ena‘ena.

The sun concentrates its heat at Papa‘ena‘ena.<sup>114</sup>

In the third year of his rule, in July of 1821, Liholiho (Kamehameha II) made a trip to Kaua‘i to meet with Kaumuali‘i, the King of Kaua‘i; where they discussed the accord made years prior at Māmala, O‘ahu.<sup>115</sup> Liholiho was accompanied by Ka‘ahumanu as well as his wives and advisors. He was hosted so lavishly that many of the chiefs came to join the royal party including his mother Keōpūolani and the ali‘i Hoapili. During the visit Kaumuali‘i constructed large hale for Ka‘ahumanu at Papa‘ena‘ena. The ‘ōleo no‘eau, “pili pono ka lā i Papa‘ene‘ena,” or “the sun concentrated its heat at Papa‘ena‘ena,” is a play on the word ‘ena‘ena, meaning “glowing, red hot.”<sup>116</sup> While at Papa‘ena‘ena, Ka‘ahumanu was inspired

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<sup>113</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 14. In *Chanting the Universe*, John Charlot states the position from which is writing this book as follows: “This is the the book of a non-Hawaiian, a Western student of Western culture who has also had the opportunity to study Hawai‘i and the privilege of knowing Polynesians. This good is by no means a comprehensive survey of Hawaiian culture, but a short, very tentative and personal essay in cultural appreciation. Different emphases and point of interest are equally possible. Many values discussed here can be found in other Polynesian cultures as well. I write about Hawai‘i because I was raised here, and this is the place that knows me best.

<sup>114</sup> Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, [‘ŌN, 2654]

<sup>115</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mo‘okini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 144. [Māmala] Bay, Honolulu Harbor to Pearl Harbor, O‘ahu, named for a shark woman who lived at the entrance of Honolulu Harbor and often played kōnane. She left her shark husband, ‘Ouha, for Hono-ka‘upu. ‘Ouha then became the shark god of Wai-kīkī and of Koko Head (Finney and Houston 39; Westervelt, 1964b:15, 52-54). In the song “Nā ka Pueo” (Elbert and Mahoe 81), the name of the bay is juxtaposed to mālama, to protect: Ma ka ‘ilikai a‘o Māmala, mālama iho ke aloha, on the surface [of the sea] of Māmala, protect the love. See Ke-kai-o-Māmala. Pukui, Elbert & Mo‘okini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 106. [Ke-kai-o-Māmala]

<sup>116</sup> Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, [‘ŌN, 2654]; PEM. ‘ena‘ena.



to seek out Nihoa; “Nihoa was an island not seen by the current generation. But in the stories and mele of the ancients, Nihoa was reached.”<sup>117</sup> Ka‘ahumanu’s action were inspired by the mele and mo‘olelo pertaining to Pele and Hi‘iaka and Kawelo, son of Mahunaali‘i:

Ea mai ana ke ao ua o Kona  
 Ea mai ana ma Nihoa  
 Ma ka mole mai o Lehua  
 Ua iho la, pulu ke kahawai

The rain cloud of Kona rises up  
 Rising up at Nihoa  
 At the base of Lehua  
 It rains drenching the stream

In the mele offered by Hi‘iaka—

Ea mai ana ma Nihoa  
 Ma ka mole mai o Lehua

Rising up at Nihoa  
 At the base of Lehua.<sup>118</sup>

Ka‘ahumanu was determined to seek out a Nihoa based on her knowledge of “mele and prophecies describing all of the islands of Kahiki,” so she said to Kaumuali‘i, “Son, let’s go seek out Nihoa.”<sup>119</sup> Kaumuali‘i agreed and “two or three ships were made ready for the voyage” which was captained by William Sumner and they found “Nihoa in the year 1822,

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<sup>117</sup> Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, Feb. 1, 1868, p. 1 Translation by Keao NeSmith. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 253.

<sup>118</sup> Kamakau, Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, Feb. 1, 1868, 1 (Translation by Keao NeSmith). Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 253.

<sup>119</sup> Kamakau, Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, Feb. 1, 1868, 1 (Translation by Keao NeSmith). Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 253.

and Nihoa was enjoined into the Hawaiian Archipelago.”<sup>120</sup> The claiming of Nihoa as Hawaiian territory by Ka‘ahumanu is a clear example of nationalization according to the definition in *Black’s Law Dictionary* which states “the nationalization of property is an act which denotes that it has become that of the nation by some process of law, whereby private individuals or corporations have been for specified reasons deprived thereof.”<sup>121</sup> This is a very specific way to express the process of nationalization in terms of territory, this term is also used in the next section in more general terms as to “invest ownership in a government and give national character to.”<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, by establishing a short historical background of the evolution of the territorial boundaries in the Hawaiian Islands, I lay the foundation for my general use of territory as homeland which indicates the connection of the people to ‘āina and further contributes to an understanding of the Hawaiian political imaginary.

The territorial boundaries of the Hawaiian Islands are established under Kamehameha I, and its borders expanded with the incorporation of Nihoa by Ka‘ahumanu under the rule of Liholiho. Although the Hawaiian Kingdom was formally established among the nation-states of the world via the Anglo-Franco Proclamation in 1843, the evolution of the Hawaiian nation took place over time and was dependent on various factors. Perhaps we could even see it as a constant evolution from the *Kumulipo* and the very beginnings from pō. According to Beamer, the foundations of the Hawaiian Kingdom were built on ‘ōiwi state craft and the ali‘i

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<sup>120</sup> Kamakau, Ka Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a, Feb. 1, 1868, 1 (Translation by Keao NeSmith). Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 253.

<sup>121</sup> Garner, Bryan A., and Henry Campbell Black. *Black’s Law Dictionary*. [S.l.]: Thomson Reuters West, 2016. p.1176

<sup>122</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017)  
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/denationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017) Denationalization and Nationalization are here after referred specifically in context to the Hawaiian Kingdom and subsequent Hawaiian national consciousness. Denationalization and Americanization are used interchangeably, and refers specifically to the official systematic process of Americanization following the illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States. For clarification purposes, I will specify when referring to events taking place pre-1893 or non-US related and referenced as unofficial (or not resulting from a U.S. Government directive) in parenthesis following the use of the term.

were strategic in their adaptations; they were active agents in appropriating laws, protocols, and technologies, “modifying Euro-American principles in order to protect Hawaiian national interests.”<sup>123</sup> The discussion of what constitutes a nation and a nation-state and the validity of them is a lengthy and complicated discussion that permeates all aspects of the political science discipline. That discussion is not taken up here, neither is the evolution of the Hawaiian State which has been covered thoroughly by such authors as Kamakau, Kuykendall, Beamer and Sai. This section examines the Hawaiian Islands as a political community through aloha ‘āina as: (a) a defined territory being the Hawaiian Islands and (b) an historic territory or homeland, in order to provide context to Hawaiian national consciousness and Hawaiian national identity.

According to Smith, “national identity and the nation are complex constructs composed of a number of interrelated components — ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal — political” that are an indication of the bonds between and among members of the community.<sup>124</sup> These bonds are based on such aspects as shared memories, myths, traditions and the like and these aspects, “may or may not find expression in states of their own but are entirely different from the purely legal and bureaucratic ties of the state.”<sup>125</sup>

Conceptually, the nation has come to blend two sets of dimensions, the one civic and territorial, the other ethnic and genealogical, in varying proportions in particular cases. It is this very multidimensionality that has made national identity such a flexible and persistent force in modern life and politics, and allowed it to combine effectively with other powerful ideologies and movements, without losing its character.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 5.

<sup>124</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 15.

<sup>125</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 15.

<sup>126</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 15.

With the dominant influence of “the rational state —and a new kind of community—the territorial nation,” which first emerged in the West was based predominantly based on a spatial or territorial conception, which according to this view, “nations must possess, compact well-defined territories.”<sup>127</sup> In this regard the Hawaiian Islands are no different, the elements of an independent State is the requirement of a defined territory. Based on Article 1 of the Montevideo convention on Rights and Duties of States, Sai provides the element of the Hawaiian State as: “(a) its permanent population that constitutes its citizenry, Hawaiian subjects; (b) its defined territory being the Hawaiian Islands; (c) its government being a constitutional monarchy, called the Hawaiian Kingdom; and (d) its ability to enter into international relations through its diplomatic corps.”<sup>128</sup>

The definition of the nation and the fundamental features of national identity provided by Smith, are employed here as a framework to discuss Hawaiian national identity. Smith defines the nation “as *a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.*”<sup>129</sup> This definition, although similar to the aforementioned definition of the Hawaiian State in basic components involving: human population, a territory, governments and legal rights, differ by privileging relationships inside and outside of the community differently. The State definition privileges the relationships to other political communities through, “its ability to enter into international relations through its diplomatic corps;” while the definition of the nation, highlights the relationships and ties within the community through “*common myths and historical memories [and] a mass public*

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<sup>127</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 9.

<sup>128</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 10.

<sup>129</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 14. (Author’s emphasis)

*culture*”<sup>130</sup> This reliance on relationship to territory and the historical memories within them is therefore an important aspect to establishing a political community, which for Smith, is foundational for understanding national identity.<sup>131</sup> This crucial difference between a political community and other forms of cultural communities is highlighted in the example of ancient Greece:

Politically, there was no ‘nation’ in ancient Greece, only a collection of city-states, each jealous of its sovereignty. Culturally however, there existed an ancient Greek community, Hellas, that could be invoked, for example by Pericles, in the political realm—usually for Athenian purposes. In other words we can speak of a Greek cultural and ethnic community but not of an ancient Greek ‘nation’.<sup>132</sup>

The people within the territory must also feel like they belong to each other through this historic territory or homeland, that can range from an origin story such as the early Dutch who “saw themselves as formed by the high seas and as forging (literally) the earth they possessed and made their own,” or a common ‘historic’ land like the “Turks, [where] it is not the land of ultimate origin.”<sup>133</sup> Smith constitutes national identity as opposed to other forms of collective cultural identity by establishing common assumptions from which he lists fundamental features of national identity:

1. an historic territory, or homeland
2. common myths and historical memories
3. a common, mass public culture
4. common legal rights and duties for all members

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<sup>130</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 10. Smith, *National Identity*, 14. (Author’s emphasis)

<sup>131</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 9.

<sup>132</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 8.

<sup>133</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 9.

5. a common economy with territorial mobility for members<sup>134</sup>

In the Hawaiian context, the understanding of homeland or historic territory takes on a new meaning with the birth of the aliʻi Kamehameha I, who is “prophesied to cause the downfall of the current chiefs and to ascend to heights of power previously unattained.”<sup>135</sup> Following the death of his uncle, Kalaniʻōpuʻu, the Aliʻi nui (high chief) of Hawaiʻi Island in 1782, and his son Kīwalaʻo shortly thereafter, Hawaiʻi Island is broken into three chiefdoms and Kamehameha begins his rise to power. Kamehameha establishes his rule over the lands of Kohala and Kona and by 1795, and has consolidated rule over the islands from Hawaiʻi to Oʻahu through a series of conquests.<sup>136</sup> By 1810 Kauaʻi is secured as the “two kings met face to face and it was settled that Kauai should be tributary kingdom and the Kaumualii should continue to govern the island, acknowledging Kamehameha as his suzerain.”<sup>137</sup> The peaceful accord made between the Aliʻi nui of Kauaʻi, Kaumualiʻi and Kamehameha fulfills the prophecy made at his birth to ascend to heights previously unattained.<sup>138</sup>

As the founder of the kingdom, Kamehameha I held both the title to the territory of the state and the title to real property. The order of dominium from Kamehameha I, Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III is established in the 1839 Declaration of Rights, which was included as a preamble to the 1840 constitution. It was hereafter established that “the government held both the *dominium* and original fee-simple to all the lands, subject to the vested undivided rights of the chiefly classes.”<sup>139</sup> Prior to this, the Aliʻi nui was the

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<sup>134</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 14.

<sup>135</sup> Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao* (Vol. 1), 79. In Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 68.

<sup>136</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Vol. 1), 32-47.

<sup>137</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Vol. 1), 50.

<sup>138</sup> Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao* (Vol. 1), 79. In Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 68.

<sup>139</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 80.

representative of the Akua on earth and by ascending over new territory had the right to redistribute lands through the process of the Kalai‘āina.<sup>140</sup>

Kamehameha I, was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the Islands to the other, thought it was not his own private property. It belonged to chiefs and people in common of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had the management of the landed property. Wherefore, there was not formerly, and is not now any person who could or can convey away the smallest portion of land without the consent of the one who had, or has the direction of the kingdom.<sup>141</sup>

Following the reign of Kamehameha I, there was no traditional process of kālai‘āina and the ali‘i class enjoyed a new degree of permanence over the land under Kamehameha II. In order to secure stability on a global level, Kamehameha II continued to build on the relationship with Britain that had begun under his fathers’ reign and was the first Mō‘ī (monarch) to “visit a foreign nation on a diplomatic mission.”<sup>142</sup> Although his reign was only a few short years from 1819 to 1824, as Kamehameha II, the Queen Kamāmalu and members of their entourage would contract measles on this diplomatic endeavor to Great Britain that took their life, his reign was nevertheless full of transition and intense negotiations and his efforts paved the way for Hawai‘i’s presence globally.

During the reign of Kamehameha III, Hawai‘i emerges as a constitutional monarchy. Evolving from absolute rule to constitutional governance through the institution of the 1840 constitution. Throughout this process of modernization Beamer explains that the ancient land

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<sup>140</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 45-47.

<sup>141</sup> 1840 Hawaiian Constitution.

<sup>142</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 101.

rights were held within the codified laws thereby providing continuity of national identity in land relationships.

The constitution of 1840 served to codify the ancient land rights held by the mō‘ī, ali‘i, and maka‘āinana within the structure of a kālai‘āina. In a kālai‘āina, the mō‘i awarded lands, but they were not the mō‘ī’s sole property; the maka‘āinana also had rights to their ‘ili, mo‘o ‘āina, paukū ‘āina, kīhāpai, and to other resources within their ahupua‘a.<sup>143</sup>

Kaukeaouli would continue to modernize the Hawaiian Kingdom including the incredible accomplishment of achieving recognition as an independent State on November 28, 1843 through the Anglo-Franco proclamation.<sup>144</sup> Celebrated in the Kingdom as Lā Kū‘oko‘a (Hawaiian Independence Day), this national holiday secured within the hearts and minds of the people the continuity of relationships to ‘āina and secured Hawai‘i as a State. This evolution of land laws in the Hawaiian Kingdom from the time of Kamehameha I to Kamehameha III, were formalized and culminated under the Māhele of 1848.<sup>145</sup> This hybridized land system that was based on kālai‘āina at a very basic level created “three separate land bases...the first was for the 252 ali‘i and konohiki, the second was for the government, and the third was for the mō‘ī.”<sup>146</sup> Through the Māhele, maka‘āinana were given access to land titles through a new hybrid system of private property that was familiar and consistent with the land system to which they were accustomed.<sup>147</sup> The Māhele was therefore designed to reinforce connections to a historic land and homeland and ultimately

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<sup>143</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 129.

<sup>144</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 72-73.

<sup>145</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 16-86; 78-86; 113-116. Alexander, “A Brief History of Land Titles.”

The subject of the Māhele has been discussed by numerous scholars of Hawaiian history and have been re-examined in recent years such as Kame‘eleihiwa, Preza and Perkins. See, Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands*. Preza, “The Empirical Writes Back.” Perkins, “Kuleana: A Genealogy of Native Tenant Rights.”

<sup>146</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 144.

<sup>147</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 144.



protect the political community and “traditional Hawaiian relationships between people and property.”<sup>148</sup> According to Beamer, this protection of traditional ‘āina relationships encouraged the maka‘āinana to continue and thrive in their roles as cultivators of the ‘āina in three main ways:“(1) by awarding lands “subject to the rights of native tenants,” (2) by codifying ancient place names and divisions and (3) by institutionalizing traditional ahupua‘a resource rights into the law through the sections of the Kuleana Act.”<sup>149</sup>

The prosperity and modernity achieved under the reign of Kamehameha III would continue with the “Proclamation of Hawaiian Neutrality” in 1854 which established the political status of the Hawaiian State and announced to the world the boundaries of the territory. Establishing territorial jurisdiction “to the distance of one marine league (three miles), surrounding each of Our Islands of Hawaii, Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molokai, Oahu, Kauai and Niihau, commencing at low water mark on each of the representative coasts, of said Islands, and includes all the channels passing between the dividing said Islands, from Island to Island.”<sup>150</sup> The Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Wyllie, made the following announcement to the British, French and U.S. Diplomats stationed in Honolulu on March 16, 1854.

I have the honor to make know to you that the following  
islands &c., are within the domain of the Hawaiian Crown, viz:

Hawai‘i, containing about, 4,000 square miles;

Maui, 600 square miles;

O‘ahu, 520 square miles;

Kaua‘i, 520 square miles;

Molokai, 170 square miles;

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<sup>148</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 152.

<sup>149</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 152.

<sup>150</sup> March 16, 1854. Proclamation of Hawaiian Neutrality by Kamehameha III. In Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 115.

Lana‘i, 100 square miles;  
 Ni‘ihau, 80 square miles;  
 Kaho‘olawe, 60 square miles;  
 Ni‘ihau, known as Bird Island  
 Molokini )  
 Lehua ) Islets, little more than barren rocks:  
 Ka‘ula )

And all Reefs, Banks and Rocks contiguous to either of the  
 above, or within the compass of the whole.<sup>151</sup>

Four additional Islands were annexed to the Hawaiian Kingdom under the doctrine of discovery since the proclamation of neutrality: Laysan and Lisiansky Islands were annexed to the Hawaiian Kingdom by discovery of Captain John Patten on May 1<sup>st</sup> and May 10<sup>th</sup> 1857 respectively followed by Palmyra Island—a cluster of low islets—was by Captain Zen’s Bent on April 15<sup>th</sup> 1862, and lastly, Ocean Island, also called Kure atoll, was acquired September 20<sup>th</sup> 1886, by proclamation of Colonel J.H. Boyd.<sup>152</sup>

The territory of the Hawaiian Islands was captured through textual and visual examples attesting to an international awareness of Hawai‘i as a nation-state in the Pacific exist in the form of maps and official correspondence between international governments. In one case occurring in 1859, during the reign of King Kamehameha V, “A Petermann of Gotha, Germany produced a map of the Pacific area showing the possessions of the seven major powers in the region by floor-coding, and prominently displaying the Hawaiian Kingdom... in its own color, equal to the colonial dominions of the great European powers....”<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> *Islands of the Hawaiian Domain*, prepared by A.P. Taylor, Librarian (January 10, 1931), 5. In Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 113-114.

<sup>152</sup> *Islands of the Hawaiian Domain*, prepared by A.P. Taylor, Librarian (January 10, 1931), 5-8. In Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 113-115.

<sup>153</sup> Gonschor, Lorenz. *Ka Hoku o Osiania: Promoting the Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model for Political Transformation in Nineteenth-Century Oceania in Cultural Encounters and the Discourses of Scholarship*, volume 6. Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 2013. P. 159

Hawai‘i’s participation in international expositions helped to reinforce the already existing understandings of Hawai‘i as a sovereign nation-state among foreign audiences, and maintained Hawai‘i’s presence among world powers in the display of a national identity.

Kalākaua was actively engaged in maintaining and expanding the presence of Hawai‘i over the course of his reign (1874-1891). To this Beamer explains: “in a private meeting with the emperor [Emperor Meiji], Kalakaua proposed the creation of a confederation between Hawai‘i, Japan and the island nations of Polynesia. He envisioned a lei draped over the Pacific, an alliance in which each member nation provided protection and diplomatic representation to the others.”<sup>154</sup> In another interpretation of Kalākaua’s initiatives abroad, Young asserts, “The epithet ‘Na Kai Ewalu’ is an honorific reference to the eight sea channels that connect rather than divide the main inhabited Hawaiian Islands and their tributaries. It connotes a profound value associated with defining self and group in the context of the vast expansiveness of the resource rich ocean as the ultimate spiritual source from which the land was born.”<sup>155</sup> Hawaiian nationality and the pride and potential associated with this resource rich environment is what prompted Kalākaua to propose a pan Polynesian federation in the 1880s. Contemporary Oceania has thriving examples of the King’s earnest, patriotic vision. However, this pan Polynesian federation was not to become a reality although, this vision did bring greater security to the region of Oceania and had it been realized, the geo-political possibilities for our Oceanic world today would be quite different.

As of January 16, 1893, the territory of the Hawaiian Kingdom comprised of the Islands located in the Pacific Ocean “between 5 and 23 north latitude and 154 and 178 west

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<sup>154</sup> Beamer, Kamanamaikalani. *No Makou Ka Mana Liberting the Nation*. Kamehameha Publishing, Honolulu. 2014. P. 177

<sup>155</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 8-9.

longitude (Hawai‘i, Maui, O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, Molokai, Lana‘i, Ni‘ihau, Kaho‘olawe, Nihoa, Molokini, Lehua, Ka‘ula, Laysan, Lisiansky, Palmyra, Ocean (a.k.a Kure atoll)).”<sup>156</sup>

<u>Island:</u>	<u>Location:</u>	<u>Square Miles/Acreage:</u>
Hawai‘i	19°30’ N 155° 30’ W	4,028.2 / 2,578,048
Maui	20°45’ N 156° 20’ W	727.3 / 465,472
O‘ahu	21°30’ N 158° 00’ W	597.1 / 382,144
Kaua‘i	22°03’ N 159° 30’ W	552.3 / 353,472
Molokai	21°08’ N 157° 00’ W	260.0 / 166,400
Lana‘i	20°50’ N 156° 55’ W	140.6 / 89,984
Ni‘ihau	21°55’ N 160° 10’ W	69.5 / 44,480
Kaho‘olawe	20°33’ N 156° 35’ W	44.6 / 28,544
Nihoa	23°06’ N 161° 58’ W	0.3 / 192
Molokini	20°38’ N 156° 30’ W	0.04 / 25.6
Lehua	22°01’ N 160° 06’ W	0.4 / 256
Ka‘ula	21°40’ N 160° 32’ W	0.2 / 128
Laysan	25°50’ N 171° 50’ W	1.6 / 1,024
Lisiansky	26°02’ N 174° 00’ W	0.6 / 384
Palmyra	05°52’ N 162° 05’ W	4.6 / 2,944
Ocean	28°25’ N 178° 25’ W	0.4 / 256 <sup>157</sup>

(a.k.a. Kure altoll)

These 1893 territorial boundaries provide the basis of the current territorial boundaries of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the foundation of territory as homeland. The territorial tie indicates the connection of the people to ‘āina and further and is a primary component in understanding the context of ‘āina in the Hawaiian political imaginary.

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<sup>156</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 115-116.

<sup>157</sup> Sai, David Keanu. “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 115-116.

***Denationalization: Legal Rights and Duties for all Members?***

With U.S. intervention and the landing of U.S. troops on January 16, 1893 and the subsequent illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government on January 17, 1893; Hawaiian Kingdom institutions were suspended. In addition, the U.S. failed to administer Hawaiian law and further violated the laws of occupation, facilitating the development of the U.S. Territorial Government (TG) to administer laws and develop government and private institutions through an act of the U.S. Congress in 1900.<sup>158</sup> A brief history of political events from 1893-1898 are included here to provide clarity of position and to show the effectiveness of the Hawaiian government, the Mō‘ī Lili‘uokalani as well as the people during this time to protect Hawaiian national interests and counter U.S. occupation and hegemony. By providing a brief history here, it also articulates the correlation between the terms nationalization and denationalization. As mentioned previously, nationalization and denationalization are fluid terms that are representative of the uses either to “invest ownership in a government and give national character to” or to “to divest of national character or rights.”<sup>159</sup> The correlation between these terms are especially pertinent post 1893 to showcase the perpetuation and continuity of Hawaiian national identity or the ways that national character is divested in order to expand the American territorial imaginary.

On January 17, 1893 Queen Lili‘uokalani submits a protest with the United States formally acknowledging the illegal activities by its diplomatic representative in the Hawaiian

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<sup>158</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 153-168.

<sup>159</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017) <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/denationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017) Denationalization and Nationalization are here after referred specifically in context to the Hawaiian Kingdom and subsequent Hawaiian national consciousness. Denationalization and Americanization are used interchangeably, and refers specifically to the official systematic process of Americanization following the illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States. For clarification purposes, I will specify when referring to events taking place pre-1893 or non-US related and referenced as unofficial (or not resulting from a U.S. Government directive) in parenthesis following the use of the term.

Islands.<sup>160</sup> This protest was in response to the events that took place earlier that day in which the Committee of Safety declared themselves as the Provisional Government and Sanford Dole as president. Lili‘uokalani strategically yields authority to the U.S. Government under duress in order to avoid armed conflict and protect the Hawaiian Kingdom and her people.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>161</sup>

The day prior, on January 16, 1893 the U.S. Minister to Hawai‘i, John L. Stevens as a co-conspirator with the committee of safety had troops landed from the U.S.S. Boston. These actions were done with the intention of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Within one months’ time President Benjamin Harris submits the proposed treaty which is signed on February 14, 1893 between the Provisional Government (referred to interchangeably as Oligarchy) and U.S. Secretary of State James Blaine for ratification by the U.S. Senate. However, ratification does not take place prior to Cleveland’s inauguration in March of that year.<sup>162</sup>

Following the aforementioned letter of protest by Lili‘uokalani, the people follow the Queen, forming both the Hui Aloha ‘Āina and a sister organization, the Hui Aloha ‘Āina o Nā

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<sup>160</sup> Blount, James H. Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham. Honolulu, 17 July 1893. Reprinted in *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics*, Vol. 1 (2004), p. 166.

<sup>161</sup> Blount, James H. Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham. Honolulu, 17 July 1893. Reprinted in *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics*, Vol. 1 (2004), p. 166.

<sup>162</sup> According to Merriam-Webster, the definition of oligarchy is “a government in which a small group exercises control especially for corrupt and selfish purposes.” (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/oligarchy>) Specifically in this paper, the use of Oligarchy represents those members conspiring with the U.S. in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government in 1893 and the subsequent formation of the Provisional Government, Republic of Hawai‘i and Territorial Government of Hawai‘i.

Wāhine to protest annexation and support the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom government. The establishment of these organizations and identification as “ka po‘e aloha ‘āina” (the people who loved the land, people who fiercely love our land and nation) throughout this contentious time confirm the centrality of aloha ‘āina in Hawaiian positionality and worldview.<sup>163</sup> Upon receiving notice from Mō‘ī Lili‘uokalani about the illegal actions of the representatives of the U.S. Government, the newly inaugurated President, Grover Cleveland removes the treaty and calls for an investigation by a former Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, James H. Blount.<sup>164</sup>

The investigation conducted by Blount concluded that these actions by both the U.S. Legation and the Provisional Government were not only “directly responsible for the illegal overthrow” but were done in the “ultimate goal of transferring the Hawaiian Islands to the United States from an installed government.”<sup>165</sup> For the next five years the Hawaiian Kingdom is torn by political factions that either support the illegal Oligarchy and advocate for annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States or work to reinstate Mō‘ī Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom Government protesting treaties of subjugation or cession. Through the political maneuverings of Mō‘ī Lili‘uokalani through the Lili‘uokalani Agreement and Restoration Agreement the Hawaiian Kingdom is further protected under international law.<sup>166</sup> Unfortunately, the executive agreements that take place during Cleveland’s presidency are not enforced by the U.S. and a year later on in 1894, the House (on February 7) and the Senate

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<sup>163</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 131. Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, xxxiv. Silva translates po‘e aloha ‘āina as “the people who loved the land” while Ho‘omanawanui has expanded this definition to include the nation, with the definition as “people who feicely love our land and nation.”

<sup>164</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 120.

<sup>165</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 126.

<sup>166</sup> Lili‘okalani Agreement, December 18, 1893, calls for administratin of Hawaiian Kingdom law. Restoration Agreement, January 13, 1894, calls for restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

(on May 31), “passed resolutions warning all foreign states that intervention in the political affairs of the islands would be considered and act unfriendly to the United States.”<sup>167</sup>

A new presidency under McKinley will take an even stronger approach to the expansion of American territory. In March of 1897 William McKinley, is elected as the 25<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, and soon after his inauguration enters a second treaty of annexation on June 16, 1897, in collaboration with the same individuals who participated in the illegal overthrow with the U.S. legation in 1893. This second attempt at a treaty was also unsuccessful, and ratification did not pass in the United States Senate due to the astute political actions of Mō‘ī Lili‘uokalani and the protests that were submitted by herself as well as the Kū‘ē petitions against annexation with 21,169 signatories.<sup>168</sup>

However, as a result of the Spanish-American war “the United States President, with the authority of Congress, unilaterally seized the Hawaiian Islands for military purposes” through a joint resolution that was formalized ceremonially on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1898.<sup>169</sup> This joint resolution, called the Newlands Resolution, has often been disguised as having the legal effects of a “Treaty of Annexation” as propaganda by the Oligarchy and the United States to misdirect the juridical precedence of the resolution and omit its inability to go beyond the territorial borders of the United States. In the Act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawai‘i, Chapter 1 § 1. Definitions indicates a legal transfer from the Republic of Hawai‘i to the United States of America.

#### CHAPTER 1. General Provisions. § 1. Definitions.

That the phrase "the laws of Hawaii," as used in this Act without qualifying words, shall mean the constitution and laws of the Republic of Hawaii, in force on the twelfth day of

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<sup>167</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom III 1874-1893*, 650.

<sup>168</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 124.

<sup>169</sup> Sai, “A Slippery Path towards Hawaiian Indigeneity,” 76.



August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, at the time of the transfer of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States of America.<sup>170</sup>

Although a resolution is not legally binding beyond the boundaries of U.S. territory, the resolution serves as a ploy to expand the American Territorial Imaginary. The American Territorial Imaginary, as I define it and use it throughout this dissertation, is the political ideal promoted by the Oligarchy and subsequent Territorial Government in their effort to incorporate Hawai‘i within the territorial boundaries of the United States using governmental and social mechanisms concentrating my study on the time period from 1893 - 1940. According to Marek, occupation prevents the occupying government from extinguishing the sovereignty of the State, that protect both the continuity and the identity of the State. However, through assimilation the de facto government can injure the reality of State continuity and identity.

Marek cautions that occupation must not be confused with de facto governance. She warns that “assimilation of belligerent occupation and de facto government not only enlarges the powers of the occupant, but, moreover, is bound to confuse and undermine the clear notion of identity and continuity of the occupied State ...[and] explains that a de facto government is “an internal State phenomenon [a successful revolution]; [but] belligerent occupation is external to the occupied State. To mistake belligerent occupation for a de facto government would mean treating the occupied State as annexed, its continuity as

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<sup>170</sup> Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the State, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America*. 1909. P.881. <<http://books.google.com/books?id=rJGHAAAAMAAJ>>.

interrupted, its identity as lost and its personality as merged  
with that of the occupant.<sup>171</sup>

Since occupation, the space between Americanization (denationalization) and Nationalization efforts have been in constant opposition and Marek cautions that through assimilation, the powers of the occupant are “bound to confuse and undermine a clear notion of identity and continuity.”<sup>172</sup> Through this process of denationalization (to divest of national character or rights) or more specifically in the case of Hawai‘i, Americanization understanding Hawai‘i’s national history has been continually compromised through the forced assimilation by Oligarchy and subsequent Territorial government.

However, Sai asserts that recent scholarship has been propelled by an understanding of this political shift and researching Hawaiian national history from an “interstate point of view—as between two internationally recognized political units” rather than from the current “intrastate—within the context of U.S. law and politics” which has begun to shift the paradigm.<sup>173</sup> By building the arguments in this dissertation within this premise I further contribute to resituating current scholarship within this context as a necessary part of the process of identifying the effects of occupation and Americanization. Young further asserts that, this shift must include the key building block of historiography in order to reestablish a “historically authentic Hawaiian national identity” which will contribute to “broader community and institutional reformulation.”<sup>174</sup>

A national restoration platform for Hawaiian intellectualism  
must include historiography as a key building block. The  
presumption here is that such a connection to the past as a most

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<sup>171</sup> Marek, In Sai, David Keanu. *The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition From Occupied To Restored State*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008, p. 226.

<sup>172</sup> Marek, In Sai, David Keanu. *The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition From Occupied To Restored State*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008, p. 226.

<sup>173</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 5.

<sup>174</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 1.

effective teacher is vital to the reestablishment of a historically authentic Hawaiian national identity. The Hawaiian government as the voice to speak again someday for the sovereign and independent international person or State first requires sequential stages of specific intellectual and broader community and institutional reformulation.<sup>175</sup>

According to Sai, this critical shift in scholarship follows the *Lance Larsen vs. Hawaiian Kingdom* arbitration at the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1999-2001) and the formal acknowledgement that the Hawaiian Kingdom “existed as an independent state recognized as such by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and various other States.”<sup>176</sup> Vogeler, further articulates that roots of this re-situation of scholarship can be found in the ALOHA association (an acronym for Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry) which was started by Louisa Rice in 1971 and by 1973 had a registered membership of 12,744.<sup>177</sup> During hearings for the Settlement Act, the vice president of ALOHA Association Kekoa D. Ka‘apu asserted that “The Hawaiian Natives are the only group of aboriginal people from whom the United States took a country and an independent and sovereign nationhood, recognized by international law and the community of civilized nations.”<sup>178</sup> Vogeler also points out that although, the Aloha Association was bringing awareness to the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent country recognized by the family of nations, members such as Ka‘apu “accepted that the United States had gained Hawai‘i’s territory” through what was accepted as the “annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898.”<sup>179</sup> It is important to note this awareness in the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom despite over 75 years of

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<sup>175</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 1.

<sup>176</sup> Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” 5.

<sup>177</sup> Vogeler, “Outside Shangrila,” 254.

<sup>178</sup> Ka‘apu, “Statement of Keko D. Kaapu.” In, Vogeler, “Outside Shangrila,” 254.

<sup>179</sup> Vogeler, “Outside Shangrila,” 254. Ka‘apu, “Statement of Keko D. Kaapu.” In, Vogeler, “Outside Shangrila,” 254.

occupation at that time of Ka‘apu’s statements in 1975. However, it is clear that there were gaps in the historical record such as the proof that there was no legal merger with the U.S. As a result of the U.S. occupation, as evidenced above, Hawaiian nationals are deprived of the connection to the evolving tradition of nation formation by being subsumed into American culture and ideologies.<sup>180</sup>

This systematic subjugation of Hawaiian national consciousness (HNC) has taken place on multiple fronts (and continues to) including, as we have seen at the governmental and international level. In this upcoming section, I highlight the influence of American political ideals in the development of the Territorial Government and systematic denationalization through the public school systems. By bringing these areas to the foreground, I set the foundation for how I will be articulating the expansion of the American Territorial Imaginary in future areas.

### *Interrogating the Space*

If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—never, never, never.

—Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham<sup>181</sup>

In *Methods and Nations* Michael Shapiro articulates the effects of American social and political science in Hawai‘i with the correspondence between Sanford Dole, the head of the Provisional Government and John W. Burgess, the dean of political science at Columbia University following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy.<sup>182</sup> At the time of this correspondence, John W. Burgess was a “widely acknowledged founder of American political

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<sup>180</sup> <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/denationalization> (accessed September 1, 2017)

<sup>181</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises.”

<sup>182</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 2.

science.”<sup>183</sup> Shapiro explains that Dole sought the political advice of John W. Burgess on the “form Hawai‘i’s new government should take” as it was clear that Burgess worked to preserve “structures of white dominance” which he “regarded as the unquestionable value of stability which he believed was to be achieved by the consolidation of European state form of political organization.”<sup>184</sup> On March 26 and 31, 1894, Dole writes letters requesting advice on how to proceed as the Oligarchy works on drafting a “new republican constitution” to which Burgess’s book on Political Science and Constitutional Law has been “a great help.” Burgess responds that by maintaining certain aspects of the status quo white dominance can be preserved and makes suggestions for the establishment of the “legislature of two houses” and stresses the importance of “a strong presidency.”<sup>185</sup>

With this situation, I understand your problem to be the construction of a constitution which will place the government in the hands of the Teutons, and preserve it there, at least for the present. I think you can accomplish this with the existing material at your hand provided the Teutons are substantial [sic] united in purpose and will act harmoniously.<sup>186</sup>

Furthermore, Burgess eagerly advised Dole of the need for the impositions of “voting qualifications and governance structures that would politically disqualify portions of the non-white voting population (“Teutons” numbered only 4,533 out of a total population of 89,990 of which 40,622 were Hawaiian and part Hawaiians).”<sup>187</sup> Interestingly enough, this particular state form referenced here by Burgess was already established in Hawai‘i, through the

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<sup>183</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 2.

<sup>184</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 2,3.

<sup>185</sup> “Documents: Letters of Sanford B. Dole and John W. Burgess,” 71-75.

<sup>186</sup> “Documents: Letters of Sanford B. Dole and John W. Burgess,” 71-75. (Authors addition)

<sup>187</sup> “Documents: Letters of Sanford B. Dole and John W. Burgess,” 71-75. In Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 2-3.

Hawaiian Kingdom.<sup>188</sup> Shapiro further outlines Burgess's political agenda and the parallels between white dominance and the state:

the national state is...the most modern and the most complete solution of the whole problem of political organization which the world has yet produced." Coupled with his practical and metaphysical commitment to state controlled nation building, was Burgess's biopolitical agenda. Appended to his remark about the state as "the most complete solution...to political order" is the phrase, "and the fact that it is a creation of Teutonic political genius stamps the Teutonic nations as the political nations par excellence." This biopolitical observation carries with it the legitimating corollary; Burgess was of the opinion that the historical warranting of the Teuton's "political genius"... "authorizes them...to assume the leadership in the establishment of the states."<sup>189</sup>

Through this analysis, Shapiro, highlights that Burgess's position of the ethno-political genius mentioned previously "was short lived in the discipline of political science" however not before it had it's impact in Hawai'i through Dole as president of the PG.<sup>190</sup> Burgess's intellectual and pedagogical stance sheds light on the influence that he had on both Dole and the provisional government and the formation and institution of American dominance in Hawai'i.<sup>191</sup> Shapiro concludes that an analysis of the emergence of American social and political science during that period is necessary, and when focused on the relationship

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<sup>188</sup> See Sai, "The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom." and Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana* for in depth analysis of Hawaiian Kingdom State formation.

<sup>189</sup> Burgess, *The Foundations of Political Science*: 40. In Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 3. (Author's emphasis)

<sup>190</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 4.

<sup>191</sup> According to Shapiro, these exchanges "were integral aspects of political science's contribution to the colonization of Hawai'i." Here, Shapiro aligns his argument of the colonization of Hawai'i with, Sally Merry and others who argue that this was "a century-long project driven first by merchants and missionaries, then by the demands of whale fishery and ultimately and most powerfully by the expansion of capitalist agriculture in the plantation production of sugar." (Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i*, 22. in Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 1.)

between equality and inequality in twentieth century nation building, provides insight into the ways that ideas of white dominance played a role in Hawaiian history.<sup>192</sup>

In order to interrogate the space further, Shapiro juxtaposes the Dole-Burgess correspondence with a contemporary Trask-Burgess exchange that takes place more than a century later. The Trask-Burgess exchange in 2000 lends critical insight into the political climate in Hawai‘i at this junction in Hawaiian history and provides commentary on the effects of the “biopolitical conceits” and “notions of governmental forms” discussed in the Dole-Burgess exchange.

This second exchange, which Shapiro calls a discursive gesture, takes place in response to a bill before the American Congress (S.B. 2889 and H.R. 4904) released in 2000, that “would lend federal recognition and a measure of self-governance to Native Hawaiians.”<sup>193</sup> The discursive gesture between Haunani Kay Trask, “a Hawaiian academic and activist,” and H. William Burgess, a lawyer involved in “suits that oppose any form of Native Hawaiian legal entitlement,” occurs in the *Honolulu Star Advertiser* in October of that year. Burgess, argued against the bill, “invoking the Fourteenth Amendment...assert[ing] that the bill would allow the federal government to violate the Equal Protection Clause by funding “racially defined ‘Native Hawaiians’.”<sup>194</sup> In contrast, “Trask’s remark are dominated by historical rather than [U.S.] legal tropes,” arguing that the current attack on Native Hawaiian entitlement is a continuing assault that began with the missionary descendants, specifically those involved in the overthrow of the Monarchy. Trask does not invoke the U.S. Constitution, and rather refers to international law as well as to “the violence associated with

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<sup>192</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 4.

<sup>193</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 3.

<sup>194</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 3-4. (My addition)

the founding of the U.S.”<sup>195</sup> For Shapiro, the significance of Trask’s discursive gesture, is in reference to Hawaiian’s as a “nation, whose nationhood was stolen” rather than as a “race” becomes “a critique of U.S.-Hawaiian relationships...[and] a critique of U.S. foreign policy” that “reorients the spatial predicates of the of issue.”<sup>196</sup> Through an analysis of the “emergence of American social science” during the Dole-Burgess exchange, Shapiro provides a space to discuss the “displacement of the Hawaiian political order,” by contemplating the implications of “territorial control, bodies and inequality” in relation to the Burgess-Trask encounter.<sup>197</sup>

The Burgess-Dole as well as the Burgess-Trask encounter provide an interesting vantage point from which to understand the construct of ‘givenness’ of the American geo-political unit. The discourse between the construction of the state as an autonomous geo-political unit and the givenness of that social space creates a form of writing, referred by Roxanne Doty as “double writing” which allows the state, to engage in a “pedagogy that constructs the ‘givenness for its social, geo-political, and economic space’; [and] continually represents its social spaces as naturally distinct.”<sup>198</sup> This representation of ‘the givenness’ in Hawai‘i is further complicated by two major factors: that the continuity of the Hawaiian State persists and its citizen base is protected within international law and that the TG is a territory of the U.S. and not a full member of the Union until 1959.

This tension between the pedagogical, ‘the space of the given’, and the performative, ‘the space of that which must be constructed’, is made manifest over the issue of immigration.

The stories through which the state reproduces its coherence, its imagined culture coherence, and social unity, fail to

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<sup>195</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 4. (My addition)

<sup>196</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 4. (My addition)

<sup>197</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 2, 4.

<sup>198</sup> Roxanne Doty, “The Double Writing of State Craft.” In Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 46.



acknowledge both the permeability of its borders that its functioning encourages and the internal modes of cultural diversity and ambiguity that challenge its pedagogy of unity.<sup>199</sup>

Through this dynamic I explore notions of ‘multiplicity writing’ that emerges through the performative, and the space that is being constructed within the context of Americanness and ‘the givenness’ that warrants the establishment of states based on the political assumptions of white dominance irregardless of the politics of the citizenry.<sup>200</sup> By engaging in the ‘multiplicity writing’ the TG’s performative construction of the American Territorial imaginary, must be continually reproduced and “its articulation with the outside concealed.”<sup>201</sup> The performative construction produced by the Territorial Government is what I am referring to as the TG faux-official discourse, placing the Territorial Government within the construct of the U.S. official discourse. The use of a “TG faux-discourse” is to align with Beamer’s use of “faux-colonial” in his examination of the “shift in power from a Hawaiian mō‘ī to an oligarchy” and the events that were enacted in order to disguise occupation and systematically obliterate Hawaiian national consciousness.<sup>202</sup> One of the primary ways that the tension between the “pedagogical, ‘the space of the given’, and the performative, ‘the space of that which must be constructed’” is seen is through the next example given, the inculcation of the masses through public education.<sup>203</sup>

### *Inculcating the Masses*

One of the most effective ways to divest of national character on a wide scale is to take on the task of “ensuring a common public, mass culture has been handed over to the

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<sup>199</sup> Roxanne Doty, “The Double Writing of State Craft.” In Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 46.

<sup>200</sup> Shapiro, *Methods and Nations*, 3.

<sup>201</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 46.

<sup>202</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 197.

<sup>203</sup> Roxanne Doty, “The Double Writing of State Craft.” In Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 46.

agencies of popular socialization, notably the public system of education and the mass media.”<sup>204</sup> By re-orienting notions of homeland and a historical land the permanent population of Hawaiian subjects, and immigrant population were being inculcated to a U.S. Territorial imaginary. The issuance of the “Programme for Patriotic Exercises in the Public Schools” by the Territory of Hawai‘i and adopted by the Department of Public Instruction in 1906 is but one of the many forms of denationalization in Hawai‘i with the intention of inculcating Hawaiian nationals into the American Territorial imaginary.

The “Programme” is filled with detailed instructions for the administrators and teachers for the purpose of indoctrination and Americanization of the population. They were instructed to do this in several ways including: 1. Formation and salute to Flag [US Flag], 2. To conduct morning prayer 3. To sing a patriotic song 4. To conduct patriotic topics for the day including formal talks by the teachers, daily quotations and recitations, and the celebration of significant people and events in the United States.<sup>205</sup>

According to research in cultural psychology, the “teaching of history provides a basis for identity formation because it establishes a framework for social and cultural concepts.”<sup>206</sup> It has been argued that the teaching of history is necessary for the establishment of a national identity and the formation of cultural identities and it was common practice in many countries to institute official school programs that “presented historical content that was explicitly intended to create a specific national or cultural identity.”<sup>207</sup> Philosopher Edgar Morin asserts that, “the teaching of history is indispensable for the establishment of national identity,” and also may contribute more generally to larger cultural identities.<sup>208</sup> Through the

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<sup>204</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 11.

<sup>205</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises.”

<sup>206</sup> Carretero, Asensio & Rodriguez-Moneo, *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, 2.

<sup>207</sup> Carretero, Asensio & Rodriguez-Moneo, *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Carretero, Asensio & Rodriguez-Moneo, *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, 2.

“Programme,” is clear that the aim is to teach U.S. History with the aim of creating a new national identity, one that aims in producing U.S. patriotic nationals. The children are instructed to gather below the hoisted American flag as a school and upon orders from their teachers are to either salute or give three cheers. When they reach their individual class rooms they are to repeat this salutation “We give our heads, and our hearts to God and our Country! *One Country! One Language! One Flag!*”<sup>209</sup>

A reporter from New York’s Harper’s Weekly Magazine, William Inglis, comments on the effectiveness of the “Programme” in the public school systems in the February 16, 1907 issue. The article entitled, “Hawaiiis Lesson to Headstrong California: How the Island Territory has solved the problem of dealing with its four thousand Japanese Public-School children,” provides a description of the implementation of the “Programme” at schools on O‘ahu. For example, Inglis describes how the 614 children at Ka‘iulani Elementary march out on to the lawn at the command initiated by the principle, and within seconds they began “two by two, just as precise and orderly as you can find them at home,” until all were “facing a large American flag that was dancing in the northeast trade-wind forty feet above their heads.” Then with the command of attention to the flag and subsequent salute, the students go through drills which are “constantly held as a means of inculcating patriotism in the hearts of the children.”<sup>210</sup>

‘Attention!’ Mrs. Fraser commanded.

The little regiment stood fast, arms at sides, shoulders back,  
 chests out, heads up, and every eye fixed upon the red, white,  
 and blue emblem that waved protectingly over them.

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<sup>209</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises,” 3.

<sup>210</sup> Harper’s Weekly Magazine, “They’ll Do,” February 16, 1907, 227-228. Hawaiian Kingdom Blog, “Americanization in Action in 1907 At Kai‘ulani Elementary School,” February 26, 2013. <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/> (accessed September 1, 2017).

‘Salute!’ was the principal’s next command.

Every right hand was raised, forefinger extended, and the six hundred and fourteen fresh, childish voices chanted as one voice:

‘We give our heads and our hearts to God and our Country!

One Country! One Language! One Flag!’<sup>211</sup>

According to the “Programme” the salute of the flag is to be followed by a morning Prayer and a patriotic song. For the morning prayers there are three options, the first, (a) is the lord’s prayer. In option (b) the students are reciting words of thanksgiving to the Lord for their native land and that they may be worthy to be the children of this land in reference to the occupier the United states. And in option (c) they are calling all of this generation to stand together till all “Hawaiiis land stands for the right” there by continuing the separation from their native land of ka pae ‘āina o Hawaii.<sup>212</sup>

## II. Morning Prayer (in unison)

(a). The Lords Prayer;

Or

(b) Dear Lord we thank thee for the night

That brought us peaceful rest,

We thank thee for the pleasant light

With which our day is blessed;

We thank thee for our native land,

The dearest in the world;

We hank thee for our starry flag

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<sup>211</sup> Harper’s Weekly Magazine, “They’ll Do,” February 16, 1907 p.227. Hawaiian Kingdom Blog, “Americanization in Action in 1907 At Kai‘ulani Elementary School,” February 26, 2013. <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/> (accessed September 1, 2017).

<sup>212</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises,” 5.

For freedoms sake unfurled.

O, make us worthy, God, to be  
The children of this land,  
Give us the truth ad purity  
For which our colors stand,  
May there be in us greater love  
That by our lives we'll show  
We're children true of God above  
And our country here below.

Or

(c) "Hawaii's land is fair,  
Rich are the gifts we share.  
This is our earnest prayer  
O Lord of light,  
That as a noble band  
We may join heart and hand  
Till all Hawaii's land  
Stands for the right."

P.H Dodge.<sup>213</sup>

Following the patriotic song, the teachers were to discuss a patriotic topic for the day consisting of three parts: 1) a formal talk by the teachers that could range from presidents and famous men to current events in the United States to famous American cities and localities including the climate and conditions; 2) the quotation or recitation given "each Monday morning...and during the week repeated by the pupils each day"; 3) on special anniversary dates of various public figures and events in US history that a "picture hung up before the

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<sup>213</sup> Territory of Hawaii, "Programme of Patriotic Exercises," 5.

pupils or sketched on the blackboard and as much said of his like and deeds as the time will allow.”<sup>214</sup>

Under customary international law, to denationalize the inhabitants of an occupied territory through mass inculcation is considered a war crime. Germans and Italians were prosecuted after World War II for implementing a systematic plan of Germanization and Italianization in occupied territories.<sup>215</sup> The policy of Americanization carried out here in Hawai‘i resembles the Italianization and Germanization process that took place during World War II. However, “where the German and Italian occupations only lasted six years (1939-1945), the American occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom (1898-present) has gone uninterrupted for 116 years.”<sup>216</sup>

In 1942 there were specific correspondence between Hitler and his Reich Minister Rosenberg that outlines their plan for Germanization in Polish territory which included the way that they planned to use language and education to denationalize the population. In the Occupied Eastern Territories, the program for Germanization was handled by Rosenberg, in his capacity as Reich Minister. Under this regime, the people were so poorly cared for in these regions that hygienic measures were “only taken in the interests of the native population except when necessary to prevent the spread of epidemics” and particularly to the occupying forces and the essential laborers. Things were even so oppressive that “fertility and propagation among the conquered peoples were discouraged.”<sup>217</sup> In a copy of a report from Rosenberg to Hitler on 11, August 1942, Rosenberg identifies action items he intends to carry

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<sup>214</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises,” 7-14.

<sup>215</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Blog, “Denationalize the through Americanization,” July 24, 2015. <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/> (accessed September 1, 2017).

<sup>216</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Blog, “Hawai‘i War Crimes: Attempts to Denationalize the Inhabitants of an Occupied State,” February 11, 2014. <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/> (accessed September 1, 2017).

<sup>217</sup> Kenyon, Edward H. 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., “War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity: Part VI, Germanisation of Occupied Territories,” 16-17. <http://lawcollections.library.cornell.edu/nuremberg/catalog/nur:00784> (accessed September 1, 2017).

out in order to accomplish this, included here are action item numbers 3-5 dealing with education of school children and language.

3. Polish school system will not be developed and extended beyond four years of primary school. Exceptions in military technical training may be admitted.
4. No Polish newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets are to be founded. The newspaper “Konec Codzienny” published in Polish under German supervision is to be distributed exclusively to Poles living in the Wilna district.
5. The Polish language is to be used only in those localities which have an undisputed Polish majority. It must neither be put on the same level nor be preferred to the use of Lithuanian, White-Russian or Ukrainian.<sup>218</sup>

The plan to Germanize the Occupied Territories, spared no effort in executing the achievement of the “purpose of their conspiracy to dominate Europe and the world,” even if it meant keeping children from attending schools past a fourth-year primary level and restricting people from speaking their language where possible. These actions were seen as “constituting a gross violation of the laws and customs of war as express[ed] in Article 6 (b) of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, and articles 43, 46, and 48 of the Hague Convention.”<sup>219</sup>

This systematic use of education is a major part in any attempt to denationalize a population from their values, ideals and worldview. Through the Americanization of Hawaiian youth, the U.S. was systemically separating the next generation of Hawaiian nationals from the ideals of their parents and grandparents. Through the promotion of

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<sup>218</sup> Kenyon, “War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity: Part VI, Germanisation of Occupied Territories,” 16-17. <http://lawcollections.library.cornell.edu/nuremberg/catalog/nur:00784> (accessed September 1, 2017).

<sup>219</sup> Kenyon, “War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity: Part VI, Germanisation of Occupied Territories,” 25. <http://lawcollections.library.cornell.edu/nuremberg/catalog/nur:00784> (accessed September 1, 2017). (My addition.)

ideologies such as this one; “Our Parents are dear to us; our children, our kinsmen, our friends are all dear to us, but our country comprehends alone all the endearments of all. (Cicero)”<sup>220</sup> Thereby contributing to the assimilation of the population into the American Territorial imaginary and further suppressing Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.

### ***Nationalization: Historical Memories and Shared Myths***

Mo‘olelo at a foundational level, emphasize the importance of preserving, understanding and continuing the wisdom of Hawaiian knowledge systems. Mo‘olelo as defined by Pukui & Elbert in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, include “story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting.”<sup>221</sup> Pukui & Elbert explicate further that mo‘olelo is derived from the vocabulary mo‘o and ‘ōlelo which means “succession of talk” and is connected to Hawai‘i as an oral culture and a time when “all stories were oral, not written.”<sup>222</sup> At the turn of the 20th century, writer and scholar Joseph Poepoe imparts the importance of the collection and preservation of mo‘olelo and the value and importance of the cultural context provided by mo‘olelo and similar literatures, and their ability to tell the nature and story of a people.

Aia maloko o ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko na Mele ame na Pule  
Wanana, na mele ha’i-kupuna a kuauhau hoi....a ua kapaia aku  
hoi ia mau mea e ka poe e noho ana iloko o na olino ana a ka  
naauao, he mau hana pouli, hupo, hoomanamana a Pegana hoi.  
Aka nae, o ka mea oiaio; he mea pono ke malamaia kekahi oia  
mau ike o ke au kahiko o na kupuna o kakou...A i ka  
hoakoakoa ana i keia mau mea apau me ka hoomaopopo ana i  
na olelo e hoike ana i ko lakou ano, ka lakou hana ame ko  
lakou waiwai i’o e loa ai he moolelo.

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<sup>220</sup> Territory of Hawaii, “Programme of Patriotic Exercises,” 7.

<sup>221</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 254. [mo‘olelo]

<sup>222</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 254. [mo‘olelo]



In our Mo‘olelo Kahiko are mele (poetic works) and prophetic prayers, poetry that tells of our ancestors and genealogies...and these things have been called, by people living in the light of civilization, dark works, ignorant, superstitious, and pagan. However, the truth is, it is pono (beneficial) that some of this knowledge of the ancient world of our kūpuna be preserved....And in collecting all these works and understanding the language [within them] that tells of their nature, their acts, and their true value, we obtain [our] story.<sup>223</sup>

Here Poepoe challenges the Euro-American civilizing process, and stands firm in his modes of resistance and affirms the value of mo‘olelo in its ability to retain the nature and character of people and their respective national identity. Furthermore, I argue that the wisdom of Hawaiian knowledge systems derived from Hawaiian literature forms such as mo‘olelo, mele, genealogies and pule provide both function and context that provide a continuity Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.

In *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva refutes the political myth that Kanaka Maoli accepted political, economic, linguistic and cultural oppression passively by providing documentation and study of various forms of resistance by drawing upon “the large archive of Kanaka writing contained in...over seventy-five newspapers in the Hawaiian language between 1834-1948,” including the publication of a wide variety of mo‘olelo.<sup>224</sup> Materials gathered from Hawaiian language newspapers and various archival sources has created a space for scholars to create more accurate and complete historical works and analysis in regards to the history of Hawai‘i in all areas of study, including Hawaiian mo‘olelo. In this dissertation, mo‘olelo are

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<sup>223</sup> Poepoe, “Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko.” In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 255. (Translation by Silva, Authors additons.)

<sup>224</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 1-2.

understood within this context of Hawaiian knowledge systems and are analyzed more specifically for how they work in the process of ‘obtaining our story’. Mo‘olelo have the ability to provide continuity of a national narrative through variety of aspects such as history or purpose of publication, its employment of variant cultural narratives, instilling the understanding of shared histories, myth, and of particular interest in this dissertation, their employment of aloha ‘āina.

A case in point, being the version of *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole* published in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* by John Bush and Pa‘aluhi, from 5 January of 1893 to 12 July 1893, at the peak of political turmoil caused by the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government.<sup>225</sup> This publication is demonstrative of the importance Hawaiian nationals such as Pa‘aluhi and Bush placed in the political function of this mo‘olelo as a Hawaiian national narrative.<sup>226</sup> Pa‘aluhi and Bush are straight forward with their intentions for the publication and its relationship to aloha ‘āina, which is to “instill aloha ‘āina in the young people.”<sup>227</sup> John Bush signs the introduction to the mo‘olelo that is printed in *Ka Leo O Ka Lāhui* and impresses upon his audience the central role that mo‘olelo have in the continuity of the people and sheds light on the importance of aloha ‘āina as a foundation of nationalistic sentiment.

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<sup>225</sup> Through out the rest of the text I refer to the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka as the larger Pele and Hi‘iaka literature base. However, throughout this text, my analysis of *Ka Mo‘olelo ‘o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole* is in reference to two primary text by Ho‘oulumāhie, entitled “Ka Moolelo o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele” that was originally printed in the newspaper *Kā Na‘i Aupuni* between November 30, 1905-November 29, 1906. The two text were transcribed and translated and printed in 2006. Ho‘oulumāhie. *Ka mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole: ka wahine i ka hikina a ka lā, ka u‘i palekoki uila o Halema‘uma‘u*. Honolulu, Hawai‘i: Awaiaulu Press, 2006 and Ho‘oulumāhie. *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole: Woman of the Sunrise, Lightning- Skirted Beauty of Halema‘uma‘u*. Translated by Puakea Nogelmeier. Honolulu, Hawai‘i: Awaiaulu Press, 2006. Although I primarily work from the English language translation, I refer to the Pele and Hi‘iaka literature base to include the various versions of the text unless referenced specifically.

<sup>226</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 155. Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 181-182.

<sup>227</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 155.

Aole he loihi o ka noho ana o ka lahui a nalo aku mai ke ao, ke hoomaloka a hoopoina lakou i ka hiipoi ana me na ohohia nui i na moolelo a ma na mele o na ano a pau, a kamaio mau imua o ka poe opio i kumu e mau ai na hooipo a me na li'a ana o ka naau o ke kanaka i ke aloha aina mamuli o ka hooni ana o na moolelo a me na mele e pili ana i kona one hanau, na wahi pana, a me na hana kaulana a kona mau kūpuna.

It would not be long before a people would disappear from sight should they disbelieve and forget to cherish with enthusiasm the mo'olelo and mele of every kind, and discuss them in the presence of young people as a foundation to perpetuate the love and desire of people for aloha 'āina based on the stirring nature of the mo'olelo and mele about their birth sands, the storied places, and the famous deeds of their ancestors.<sup>228</sup>

The decision by Bush and Pa'aluhi to print this particular mo'olelo was a means to continue to grow that desire and love for the land, the people and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Bush praises this mo'olelo for the beauty and enjoyment it provides and that should "be cherished like the delights of every nation."<sup>229</sup> He further asserts that like the kilo, the seer, he fears that the loss of a mo'olelo like the mo'olelo of Pele and Hi'iaka would prove to be detrimental to Hawai'i and the thought of this fills him with "anxious thoughts of continuing with his nation on the land of his ancestors, therefore, we must continue to publish the true stories of the

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<sup>228</sup> Bush, "Olelo Hoakaka," January 6, 1893, 1. In Silva, *Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, 5. (Translation by Author)

<sup>229</sup> Pa'aluhi and Bush, "Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopole," 5 January 1893, 1. In, Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 181-182. (Translation by Author.)

lands written about in the stories.”<sup>230</sup> These words by Pa‘aluhi and Bush, motivate further inquiry into the ways in which aloha ‘āina is deployed in the mo‘olelo.

Another mo‘olelo with similar political motives, *Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa, na kahu iwikuamoo o Keawenuiami, ke alii o Hawaii, a o na moopuna hoi a Laamaomao* was published by Moses Nakuina in 1902, nine years after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893 calling to his “Hawaiian readers to remember their true leaders, nation and culture.”<sup>231</sup> He states, “here are Pāka‘a and Kūapāka‘a searching for all of you; recognize them if they peep in at your doors, and call out and welcome them into your homes.”<sup>232</sup>

Mo‘olelo as a signifier for the political community is especially pertinent under occupation, as the Oligarchy and subsequent Territorial Government were working on all levels to subjugate Hawaiian national identity and consciousness. Within two years after the illegal overthrow of the government, two critical laws were passed by the Oligarchy that would severely affect Hawaiian national identity and consciousness. The 1895 Land Act which according to Beamer, took place during a special session in August of 1895 and “repealed most of the land laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom...reclassified land and entirely restructured the method of acquiring title and leasing land.”<sup>233</sup> The second, Act 57 in 1896 which decreed that the English language be the medium and basis of instruction in all

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<sup>230</sup> Pa‘aluhi and Bush, “Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopole,” 5 January 1893, I. In, Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 181-182. (Translation by Author.)

<sup>231</sup> Nakuina, *Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa*.

Nakuina, *The wind gourd of La‘amaomao* (Rev. ed.; E. T. Mookini & S. Nākoa, Trans.). The mo‘olelo that I draw from is a translation of this work by Sarah Nākoa and Ester T. Mo‘okini. According to this source, this mo‘olelo was gathered by Nakuina from various sources, expanded and published in 1902. p. vii.

<sup>232</sup> Nakuina, *The Wind Gourd of La‘amaomao*, vii. This mo‘olelo was translated into English by Esther T. Mo‘okini and Sara Nakoa, a process that began in 1985 and was completed five years later in 1990. The translations of both of these texts into English are political in nature as well. Although they provide access to this knowledge by a wider readership, the politics of translations are of concern to many Hawaiian scholars today.

<sup>233</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 218.

public and private schools. The blow to Hawaiian language, for Silva “marks the beginning of the generations of grandchildren immersed in the English language in school and thus no longer able to benefit from the mo‘olelo, ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and other traditional language forms of their grandparents.”<sup>234</sup> These laws would prove to be a critical aspect of the Americanization process. Which made the publication of mo‘olelo and the Hawaiian language newspapers in general so critical to the continuity of Hawaiian national identity and consciousness.

A national restoration platform for Hawaiian intellectualism must include historiography as a key building block. The presumption here is that such a connection to the past as a most effective teacher is vital to the reestablishment of a historically authentic Hawaiian national identity. The Hawaiian government as the voice to speak again someday for the sovereign and independent international person or State first requires sequential stages of specific intellectual and broader community and institutional reformulation.<sup>235</sup>

In a more contemporary example, Iaukea discusses space and place through, what she terms *makani* or wind discourse by employing *The Wind Gourd of La‘amaomao* in the article “Land Agenda Vis A Vis *Makani* (Wind) Discourse.” Here, she asserts that a “reorientation to native recollections of ‘āina breaks contemporary social constructs and encourages the resurgence of other ways of knowing self and environment.”<sup>236</sup> Iaukea orients *makani* discourse first through the importance of the wind in geography and then extends this to epistemology, “if you know the name of the *makani* (wind) that blew through particular are, you were never lost, both geographically and perhaps epistemologically as well.”<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 144.

<sup>235</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 1.

<sup>236</sup> Iaukea, “Land Agenda Vis A Vis *Makani* (Wind) Discourse,” 48.

<sup>237</sup> Iaukea, “Land Agenda Vis A Vis *Makani* (Wind) Discourse,” 48.

In the process of reorienting ourselves ideologically, a Hawaiian sense of place and identity is strengthened when expanded to include the mo‘olelo and cultural understandings of our *kupuna* (ancestors). And in these understandings, there is no separation between nature and self as an integrated worldview is lived.<sup>238</sup>

By asserting makani discourse, Iaukea challenges the constructs of space and place and reorients that space within the context of ‘āina. Furthermore, she articulates that by conceptualizing and ascribing meaning to the to land as ‘āina, “land becomes the physical space wherein multiple groups contest their particular epistemologies.”<sup>239</sup>

Through the intensions of both Bush and Pa‘aluhi in 1893 and Nakuina in 1902, they are clear in the political convictions that these mo‘olelo have the ability to connect the na‘au of the young people to aloha ‘āina or remind the ‘people of their true leaders.’ The employment of mo‘olelo and other Hawaiian literary forms (including oral literature) by Bush, Pa‘aluhi, Nakuina, and others create a space to explore beyond their capacity as carriers of the national narrative, including such values as aloha ‘āina, custom, authority and rule, or epistemology and ontology. They lay the foundation for going further, as Iaukea’s analysis does in response to a political need for a reorientation of space and place within Hawaiian epistemology and ontology under continued occupation. In this dissertation, I look at ways that mo‘olelo has become the methodology that mobilizes national narratives that are held within them.

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<sup>238</sup> Iaukea, “Land Agenda Vis A Vis *Makani* (Wind) Discourse,” 49-50. (Author’s emphasis)

<sup>239</sup> Iaukea, “Land Agenda Vis A Vis *Makani* (Wind) Discourse,” 50.

## Conclusion

I close this chapter with a second mele composed by Kalākaua in connection with, The World Tour. Like the mele, "Kalākaua to Kapi'olani," shared at the opening, this second mele was also composed for Hawai'i and his love of this his 'one hānau' (homeland). This composition "King Kalakaua's Boast," or "Ka Momi" was shared with the people of Hawai'i in October-November following his return in, October of 1881, where Kalākaua was honored as a "Sovereign of a glorious cosmopolitan Pacific state."<sup>240</sup>

Kalākaua is awed by the vast territorial domains and citizen base of his counterparts throughout his travels and experiences abroad, however, feels that he has much to boast about his lands and his people and his country which is expressed so eloquently in this composition.

And yet I feel that I may boast,  
Some good within my sea-bound coast,  
Richer than any of my grander peer.  
That I within my realm need have no fears:—  
May mingle with my people without dread;  
No danger fear for my unguarded head,  
And boast a treasure, sent me from above  
That I have indeed, my people's love.<sup>241</sup>

Akā ke 'upu nei loko, na'u ke kaena hiki  
Aia he mau nani maloko o nā pō'ai o ko'u mau 'ae kai  
I 'oi aku ka makamae i ka o'u mau hoa ali'i  
'A'ohe o'u kumu hopo maloko o ko'u aupuni.  
He hiki ke hui me ko'u lāhui me ka weli'ole.  
'A'ohe maka'u no'u iho, me<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> "King Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 29, 1881. In Pukui & Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 152.

<sup>241</sup> "King Kalakaua's Tour Round the World," *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 29, 1881, 30.

<sup>242</sup> Pukui & Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 153.

According to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, —edited by Walter Murray Gibson, the King’s premier— the sentiment of his people was also returned and the tour around the world had inspired them.

Kalakaua, by his worldwide range and observation, has acquired the character of a cosmopolitan King; and it will be fitting, as his beneficent Government harmonized and assimilated with the Archipelago the people of Europe and America, and of China, Japan, Hindustan, and other countries, that Kalakaua shall become the Sovereign of a glorious cosmopolitan Pacific state.<sup>243</sup>

Kalākaua, compares the love that the people of Hawai‘i have toward their sovereign as a “pearl of great price” which “has fallen to me from above,” and that boast is the “loyalty of his people” or “Eia me a‘u ke aloha pili pa‘a o ko‘u lāhui kānaka.”<sup>244</sup> The influence of the tour around the world inspired “loyalty and enthusiasm, and mottoes dictated by the warmness and highest regard for a Sovereign, met the royal gave at every side.”<sup>245</sup> This relationship to his ‘kulaiwi’ (homeland) of Hawai‘i was expressed so eloquently by Kalākaua with the mele composed at the opening and the closing of the world tour and is an ideal display of the way that the ‘āina inspires a mutual and beneficial influence over several generations.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> “King Kalakaua’s Tour Round the World,” *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, October 29, 1881. In Pukui & Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 152.

<sup>244</sup> Pukui & Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 150-155.

Kalākaua writes to Lili‘uokalani while in Cairo, Egypt on June 21, 1881 and has a lengthily discussion on pearls. He had hoped to purchase pearls for Kapi‘olani and for Lili‘uokalani and was unable to do so much to his distress. He commented on the value that were given to pearls in comparison to other gems and could not spare the expense. That the priority is to tour the earth, and desires must come second to this. In, “The Royal Tourist,” 89-91.

<sup>245</sup> *P.C. Advertiser Co.*, November 5, 1881. In Pukui & Korn, *Echo of Our Song*, 152.

<sup>246</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 459. [Homeland]



Hawai‘i as, ‘ēwe ‘āina o ke kūpuna’ (homeland of our ancestors), serves as a repository of historic memories guided by ‘āina base knowledge, central to Hawaiian ways of knowing whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the political community.<sup>247</sup> By engaging aloha ‘āina as a genealogy and formative value in chapter two and as a piko between memory and history in chapter three, I set a framework for examining ways in which ‘āina as kūlana pāno‘ono‘o can be employed in Hawaiian national identity and consciousness. Illuminating the philosophy of aloha ‘āina, as love of the land and of one’s country re-centers the discourse of nationalization while simultaneously de-centering the “occupier’s aversive hold on the treasure of Hawaiian national ideas and identities” serving as a component of the official discourse in contrast to an American official discourse and its subsidiary, the Territorial Government’s employment of the TG faux-official discourse.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 459. [Homeland]

<sup>248</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 7.

## Chapter 2: Hānau ka Pō ia Hawai‘i, Night Gave Birth to Hawai‘i

Po-wale-ho-i-e.  
 Hanau ka po ia Hawaii  
 He Aupuni Moi.  
 (Only night,  
 Night gave birth to Hawai‘i  
 A Kingdom.)<sup>249</sup>

“He Pule Ola Hawai‘i,” is a prayer for the life of Hawai‘i, that was printed at the announcement of the Treaty of Annexation at Washington D.C., in *Ke Aloha Aina* on July 3, 1897 that expresses the sentiment of the people of Hawai‘i to have their Mō‘ī re-established as the rightful head of government of the Hawaiian Kingdom.<sup>250</sup> This pule was appended to the first ten lines of the *Kumulipo*, calling to mind the mana of this mele ko‘ihonua, and the genealogy that links Lili‘uokalani “backwards in time through the animals, plants, elements to the beginning of the universe,” and the foundational aspects of mele ko‘ihonua, and mele as a genre.<sup>251</sup> The histories and knowledge of Hawai‘i as they come down through mele ko‘ihonua are vital to the cultural belief systems and practices, and connection to ‘āina as a land base. Basham further offers that mele are a vital aspect for understanding “political theories, ideas, and practices” in Hawaiian tradition.<sup>252</sup>

Mele ko‘ihonua as literary form serve as the framework and foundation of the genealogical connection between ‘āina and the people and create a juncture for mapping various functions of the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o. In this chapter I analyze

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<sup>249</sup> *Ke Aloha Aina*, 3 July 1897. In, Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 157. (Translation by Silva.)

<sup>250</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 156-157.

<sup>251</sup> Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry*, 1. In Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 97.

<sup>252</sup> Basham, “Mele Lāhui,” 152. In this dissertation, I adopt the definition for mele provided here by Basham as poetry, music, chants and songs.

actualizations of ‘āina relationships within the context of the territorial tie by focusing on the relationship between ‘āina base knowledge, specifically the vocabulary and epithets connected to the definition of homeland in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* including, “one hānau, ‘āina hānau, kulaiwi; kuapuiwi, ēwe ‘āina o ke kupuna [and] kuakahi” as well as the connecting terms.<sup>253</sup> These actualizations of ‘āina relationships or the effects of ‘āina in relation to the virtual/real, provides a foundation to expand on the functions of ‘āina kūlana pano‘ono‘o, specifically what I term nā mana ‘āina. Nā mana ‘āina has three components, mana ‘āina articulates the genealogical framework of ‘āina relationships, māna ‘āina and mǎnā ‘āina articulate the formative value of ‘āina, as being shaped by the characteristics of ‘āina (māna ‘āina) and by engaging in an exchange of imagery (mǎnā ‘āina). Through these functions of nā mana ‘āina, I argue that the actualization of ‘āina relationships provide a way to analyze the continuity of Hawaiian national identity by creating a continuing connection to the territorial tie through the framework of genealogy and formative value. Furthermore, by employing the concept of the piko through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “ku‘u ēwe, ku‘u piko, ku‘u iwi, ku‘u koko”—my umbilical cord, my navel, my bone, my blood—I guide the analysis and connections between nā mana ‘āina and the body that further explores the contour of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘on‘o.<sup>254</sup>

### ***Mele Ko‘ihonua***<sup>255</sup>

Mele ko‘ihonua as genealogies provide a framework and genealogy of knowledge that places the procreation of the natural environment at the center of the Hawaiian worldview. Oliveira asserts that the *Kumulipo* and mele ko‘i honua as a genre are a reminder of the

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<sup>253</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 459. [homeland]

<sup>254</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 207. [# 1932]

<sup>255</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 160. [koihonua 1. Genealogical chant; to sing such chants.]

importance of the historical accounts and the foundation they provide for “a sense of place because they identify and connect Kānaka to our kūpuna (ancestor; elders) and our ancestral homelands,” and are a reminder of the importance of knowing one’s own genealogy.<sup>256</sup> The *Kumulipo* “describes the genesis of living things on the earth, including humankind,” and further links them to the genealogy of the ali‘i, Lonoikamakahiki. A genealogy which then leads directly to Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani.<sup>257</sup> Kalākaua’s commission for the transcription of this chant from oral tradition to a written text during his reign was monumental for Hawai‘i and the tradition was continued when the *Kumulipo* was translated into English by Lili‘uokalani in 1897.<sup>258</sup> Queen Lili‘uokalani began translating the *Kumulipo* while she was imprisoned by the Republic of Hawaii in Iolani Palace in 1895 and according to Beamer, the decision to translate this text was founded on “a movement to express and value Hawaiian knowledge in a changing world” while she was also “wrestling with the fact of Hawaiian political independence.”<sup>259</sup>

Mele ko‘ihonua such as the *Kumulipo* reinforce the use of mo‘okū‘auhau and ‘āina as a central cultural concept to situate research. Hawaiian scholars continually place mele ko‘ihonua or cosmogonic genealogies as the central piko of knowledge formation for Hawaiian Studies research and methodologies. Kame‘eleihiwa has expressed that the *Kumulipo* is the source of Hawaiian identity, “its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage.”<sup>260</sup> As a result, all aspects of the Hawaiian world are

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<sup>256</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 24, xvii.

<sup>257</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 97.

<sup>258</sup> Beckwith, *Kumulipo*, ix-4.

<sup>259</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 1.

<sup>260</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 2.

connected to each other and all aspects of the universe.<sup>261</sup> The transmission of “mo‘olelo (historical accounts), especially those cosmogonic in nature” illuminate the “genealogical connection that Kānaka share with the ‘āina” and recount the cosmogonic genealogy of hundreds of generations of human relationships which extend back in time to the very creation of the universe in the “deep darkness” of the pō, the beginning of time.”<sup>262</sup> The genealogical connection between the Kanaka Maoli and the ‘āina, provides one of the foundations for understanding the concept of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o and the ability for this concept in creating ‘āina relationships.

### *Nā Mana ‘Āina*

In *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, the terms mana, māna and mǎnā, are discussed together in one entry as they are “three words spelled alike” but through the various vocal intonations or printing symbols they are given very different meanings. To express the importance of this subtle variance of these vocal intonations and orthography, Pukui, Haertig & Lee provide an exchange between Pukui and an unnamed woman from Kansas, that highlights the variance and similarities through humor.

“Please, would you explain mana?” I asked Mary Kawena Pukui, and my “a’s” were as harsh and flat as Kansas farm land in a drought.  
Mrs. Pukui smiled to soften the needed criticism.  
“My dear, which one? Mǎnā? Or māna? Or mana?”  
And so I learned that the first thing to know about mana is how to pronounce it.”<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 2.

<sup>262</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 1. Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 12.

<sup>263</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 149.

The analysis for both mana and māna, in *Nānā I Ke Kumu* provide depth and clarity to the terms. However, the explanation of mānā, does not go further, than “dry” “arid” or “desert” and then it exits stage left and “bows out of this book [*Nānā I Ke Kumu* ].”<sup>264</sup> In the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, the definition of mānā is similar and is translated as, “arid; desert,” however there is an a second definition listed. Mānā is also the name of a native fern, *pteris irregularis*, “with larger, bright-green, much-subdivided fronds,” that goes by the name ‘ae, ‘āheawa on O‘ahu and ‘iwapuakea on Maui.<sup>265</sup> Although we have already been introduced to the first two, when all three are side by side, we can see the dynamics of them individually and as a unit.

“Mana, Māna, Mānā

Mana - power possessed by man, but originating in the supernatural, and thus always imbued with a mystic quality

Māna – trait or characteristic.

Mānā – dry; desert.”<sup>266</sup>

The variants of the term mana were chosen to articulate the functions of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o primarily because of the relationship to the first usage of mana. This convergence of mo‘okū‘auhau and ‘āina as a continuation of the procreative theory expressed in mele ko‘ihonua, as a “source of life,” and the culmination of the act of birthing was necessary for the genealogical connection between ‘āina and the individual human being (of course the continual birthing of the elements of universe are not excluded from this incorporation of the term).<sup>267</sup> In addition, the interconnectivity of these terms as well as the wide range of definitions between the individual terms provides for a complex and rich analysis of ‘āina relationships.

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<sup>264</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 149.

<sup>265</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 236. [Mānā]

<sup>266</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 149.

<sup>267</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 182. [Kumulipo]

***Mana ‘Āina: Ku‘u ēwe, Ku‘u piko (My umbilical cord, my navel)***<sup>268</sup>

The term mana is described as the “concept of “power” bestowed directly or indirectly from a supernatural source. . . [and] is defined as the existence of and the very aura of power. . . as a reservoir of strength [and] more figuratively, as a magnetic field or a mental-spiritual battery.”<sup>269</sup> It is related to supernatural, divine or miraculous power. Mana is further defined as a specific type of authority, “not the petty imposing of will on another” but rather as an “inherent quality of command and leadership.”<sup>270</sup> According to *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, “the primary source of mana was the gods,” however, it is significant within the context of this dissertation to note that it is reinforced and passed down through mo‘okū‘auhau, a practice that was strengthened through “inter-familial marriage.”<sup>271</sup> Also of critical importance here, is that mana could also be gained from the ‘āina as the authority to rule.<sup>272</sup> Mana is held in ‘āina and is signified by a myriad of events including places of birth, death and conception, places of historical importance or phenomenological significance and so on. By analyzing mana in convergence with ‘āina, particularly focusing on the term ‘āina hānau and one hānau, as they are expressed through the concept of the piko and ēwe, I articulate the ways that the actualizations of ‘āina provide an understanding of mana ‘āina and the genealogical connections of homeland and the territorial (geography) tie.

According to Hawaiian tradition, the piko connected the mother and child from conception to birth and the various practices around the birth process, connected this child to the place of his or her birth or ‘āina hānau. The birth is a link between the long line of forebears that extend through the *Kumulipo*, to the beginnings of time and beyond, to the

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<sup>268</sup> Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, 207. [# 1932]

<sup>269</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 150.

<sup>270</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 150.

<sup>271</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 150-151.

<sup>272</sup> Oliveira, “Ke alanui kīke‘eke‘e o Maui,” 188.

descendants yet unborn. This connection to the past, present and future comes from three specific piko of the body—the posterior fontanel or crown of the head, the umbilical cord, and the genital organs—with which we all come into this world.<sup>273</sup> These concepts of the piko inspire attachment, especially the relationships between the individual, and one's ancestors and descendants. The concept of piko, and specifically the triple piko, were thought to be “most intimately concerned with this bond that transcended time.”<sup>274</sup> “The posterior fontanel connected the individual to the ancestors, to the ‘aumakua, translated in *Nānā I Ke Kumu* as “ancestor gods,” this piko was seen as the “symbolic ‘umbilical cord’ between mortal man and his ancestors-become-immortals.”<sup>275</sup> The genital region of both the male and the female as well as the umbilical cord were also called piko. The umbilical chord is the “obvious link between the infant and the mother.”<sup>276</sup> The piko concerning the genitals made each person a progenitor and provided a “creative link in the long and mystic chain from ‘aumākua on through the flesh-and-blood offspring of the infinite future.”<sup>277</sup>

The term ēwe translates as, a sprout or rootlet as well as lineage and kin, it also means placenta, navel string, mature birth as well as birthplace; furthermore, the ēwe was used to show the connection to family traits through the familial line and identify the ancestral lands of the family.<sup>278</sup> The ēwe or ‘iewe was taken after the birth of the child and usually buried under a tree which become the property of the child. This is done to both symbolize the connection to the land and ensure that the child always remain close to home in life and

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<sup>273</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182-183.

<sup>274</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182.

<sup>275</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182-183.

<sup>276</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182-183.

<sup>277</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 182-183.

<sup>278</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēwe]



would have a place to to be connected to in the afterlife, so that the spirit would not have to wonder aimlessly.<sup>279</sup>

Phrases such as “Kū nō ke ēwe” (true to the family traits) or “Hookahi nō o māua ēwe (we are of the same lineage),” show the use of the term in establishing kinship or lineage specifically pertaining to the family.<sup>280</sup> In line 524 of the Kumulipo, the term ēweewe is given to mean kinfolk and lineage and specifically connected to the family.

“Hānau ke ēweewe, he ēweewe kona (KL. line 524),  
born were those of the lineage, of the lineage they.”<sup>281</sup>

The ēwe, also called ‘iwe is used as the central point of attention and admiration as members of the family “crawl together” and “seek out one another,” as demonstrated in the epithet, “e kolo ana nō ka ēwe i ka ‘iwe, rootlet creeps to rootlet [kinfolk seek and love each other].”<sup>282</sup> The term ēwe, has also been used to indicate the term homeland through the phrase, “i ke ēwe ‘āina o ke kupuna (in the ancestors’ family homeland).”<sup>283</sup> According to Grosby, the word, ‘homeland’, “combines reference to the familial dwelling and its immediate area in which the infant was conceived, nourished, and came to maturing with that image of a more extensive territory.”<sup>284</sup> In the Hawaiian context, through ēwe, our understanding of panalā‘au or “dependency” on ‘āina extends from the family, to kinfolk to the wider native of the land; reinforced through the convergence of ‘āina and mo‘okū‘auhau and culminating in the burial practices of the placenta. This familial, ēwe ‘āina’ or homeland, is typically expressed through the term ‘one hānau’ meaning, “birthplace, homeland,” highlighting the connection of one’s place of birth, as significant, especially in terms of transmission of cultural

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<sup>279</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 184.

<sup>280</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēweewe]

<sup>281</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēwe]

<sup>282</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēwe]

<sup>283</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēwe]

<sup>284</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 43.

knowledge from one generation to the next, taking place on both a “factual and even biological basis to this metaphorical attribution of motherhood or fatherhood to a territory.”<sup>285</sup> This familial aspect of homeland through the term *ēwe*, is also expressed in terms of the more general context of native, “belonging to a particular place by birth,”<sup>286</sup> through the phrase, “*ēwe hānau o ka ‘āina*,” meaning, “natives of the land.”<sup>287</sup> This further reinforces the connection between *‘āina* and *‘ohana* to the newest “creative link in the long and mystic chain.”<sup>288</sup> The practice of the burial of one’s *piko* (navel cord) and *‘iewe* (afterbirth) is an important tradition that provides insight into the understanding of connection to place and the genealogical line of belonging.<sup>289</sup>

The umbilical cord was the obvious link between the infant and the mother. Consequently, this *piko*, the umbilicus, and the closely associated placenta (*‘iēwe*) were venerated. The mother-child *piko* was extended symbolically to all blood-kin. Relatives were sometime called “my *piko*.” In dream interpretations, to dream of one’s navel was really to dream about a close relative. Dreaming of injury to one’s navel was said to foretell death, illness or injury to a relative.<sup>290</sup>

According to Grosby, territory is a factor in the formation of kinship as a result of descent within a territory for which he employs the some of the meanings behind the terms motherland, fatherland and homeland. The use of the terms, motherland, fatherland and homeland “implies a classificatory category of kinship...that revolves around the image of a bounded territory.”<sup>291</sup> The combination of the word land with the terms ‘mother’ and ‘father’,

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<sup>285</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 43.

<sup>286</sup> <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/native>

<sup>287</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, [*ēwe*]

<sup>288</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, [*panalā‘au*] Pukui et al, *Nana I Ke Kumu (Vol. I)*: 183.

<sup>289</sup> Beamer, 2014: 76.

<sup>290</sup> Pukui et al, *Nana I Ke Kumu (Vol. I)*: 183.

<sup>291</sup> Grosby, 43.

“refer[s] to the rational descent of the child from those directly responsible for its biological generation.”<sup>292</sup> Grosby further explains that the “parental power to generate and transmit life is dependent upon the sustenance that is provided by the land in the form of fruits, produce, and so on.”<sup>293</sup>

The practice that specifically ties to ‘āina centers around the burial of the “umbilical *piko*” once it detached from the body and the placenta or ‘iēwe. According to Pukui, “in every district on every island were places, usually stones, especially reserved for the *piko*. *Wailoa* was one on the Big Island...another was *Mokuola*. *Ola* means ‘life’ and *loa* means ‘long’. Mothers took the cords to stones with names like these so their babies would live long, health lives.”<sup>294</sup> Although the ceremony and protocol surrounding the burial of the *piko* and *ēwe* depended on the rank and family traditions of the child, they were guarded by all classes of society.

But around the umbilical *piko* centered symbolism and portentous beliefs. Whether or not actual cutting of the cord was accompanied with ritual depended on family rank and traditions. In a commoner family, the midwife might wield the sharp bamboo knife and tie the cord with *olonā* fiber\* without ceremony. In the *ali‘i* household, the degree of ritual might depend on sex and status of the baby. A first-born child rated more ceremony than later babies. According to Malo, “if the child was a girl, its navel string was cut in the house; but a boy,

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<sup>292</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 43. (My addition.)

<sup>293</sup> Grosby, *Nationalism*, 45. Grosby further expresses that, “the modern nation is recognized by its members as being more than merely a spatial setting- a house - for the random interaction between individuals. It is viewed as a home, where the ‘spirit’ of past and current generations has filled up that spatial setting, making it a homeland, a territory. This spirit of past and current generations are those traditions that contribute to organizing an area of space into a territory and that, as such, provide meaning around which the territorial relation is organized. Such territorially specific traditions both structure and provide meaning to the conduit of the participants in that culture.” Grosby, *Nationalism*, 46.

<sup>294</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 184.

it was carried to the *heiau* [place of worship], there to have the navel string cut in a ceremonious fashion.”<sup>295</sup>

This tradition was practiced by both chiefs and commoners alike in various ways and is carried on by Hawaiians today perpetuating this convergence of mo‘okū‘auhau and ‘āina on a physical and philosophical level. Discussed below are three examples of this practice that by no means shows the complete range but rather indicates the importance of ‘āina relationships in the formation of both individual and collective identity and their interconnections to notions of the territorial tie in Hawai‘i.

### *Three Notions of ‘Āina Hānau*

The first instance discussed is the birth of the chief Liholiho, who was the firstborn child of Keōpūolani and Kamehameha I. This practice was conducted at two locations in Hilo; his piko was ceremonially cut in the ahupua‘a of Pi‘ihonua at Kaipalaoa, at the heiau of the same name in 1797.<sup>296</sup> Liholiho’s piko and ‘iewe were then taken and cared for in the ahupua‘a of Kalaoa, Hilo, Hawai‘i.<sup>297</sup> Kaipalaoa was a place where his father Kamehameha I often came, it was also the site of battle with Namakeha and where the “fleet called the Peleleu set sail for Kaua‘i” in his ambition to united the islands under his rule.<sup>298</sup> This fleet took five years to build under the famous slogan, “Let us go and drink the water of Wailua, bathe in the water of Namolokama, eat the mullet that swim in Kawaimakua at Ha‘ena, wreath ourselves with the moss [sea lettuce] of Polihale, then return to Oahu and dwell there,” to which Kamakau notes, “none of these wishes were ever realized.”<sup>299</sup> Although

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<sup>295</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 183. (Authors emphasis. Authors addition. Authors note \*touchardia latifolis, a shrub with strong, flax-like fibers.)

<sup>296</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawai‘i*, 70. [Kaipalaoa] Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 76. Abad, “Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity,” 309. Soehren, Lloyd, “Hawaiian Place Names,” [Kaipalaoa] <http://ulukau.org/> (accessed September 1, 2017).

<sup>297</sup> Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 76. Abad, “Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity,” 309.

<sup>298</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawai‘i*, 70. [Kaipalaoa] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i*, 188.

<sup>299</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i*, 187.

these words were never realized in the confines of war, the accomplishments of these expeditions were ultimately realized, in the naming of his son Liholiho as “heir to inherit the rule,” and the peaceful transfer of Kaua‘i to Kamehameha by Kaumuali‘i after his passing.<sup>300</sup> In the case of Liholiho, because of his rank as a high chief we know that the place chosen for this ceremony and practice was not taken lightly. The historical facts associated with this place also provide insight into its importance to Liholiho in his lifetime.

In a contemporary example, Hawaiian language scholar Larry Kimura in an interview with a Hawaiian kūpuna, K. Kaleiheana, encounters this practice through the response to the question, “No hea ‘oe? (Where are you from?).” The interviewee responds, “No Hanalei Kaua‘i au. Ma laila i kanu ‘ia au ko‘u ‘iewe, akā ‘o Kalihi ko‘u ‘āina i hānai ‘ia ai. (I belong to Hanalei Kaua‘i. It is there that my placenta was buried, but Kalihi is the land where I was raised.)” In this response, Kaleiheana acknowledges both the place she was raised, Kalihi and the importance of her birthplace, Hanalei, signified by the burial of her ‘iewe. According to Kimura, the importance of this practice in which the “placenta and navel cord of babies” are placed at a particular place connected to their birth connects “ascending and descending generations in a family homeland” and the reference to where she was raised, “Kalihi, expresses a neighborhood pride common to all people.”<sup>301</sup>

The interview shows both the Hawaiian attention to detail in immediately identifying two locations, even though the speaker was taken to the second location soon after birth. The reference to the first location in Hanalei shows the typical Hawaiian pride in an ancestral homeland and emphasizes this with reference to

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<sup>300</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i*, 187-199.

<sup>301</sup> Kimura, “Native Hawaiian Culture,” 177. At the time this study was done, the author notes that “such an exchange, would of course, sound silly in English and the associated poetic connections to the placenta would be lost. Hawaiians do not speak this way in English because it cannot be done properly in that medium, an example of losing the power of words if translated.” (Kimura, “Native Hawaiian Culture,” 177)

traditional Hawaiian practice involving the placenta of a newborn child.<sup>302</sup>

Another contemporary mo‘olelo relating to this practice, is the one of Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Oliveira and the birth of her daughter Kahakai discussed in, *Ancestral Places*. I refer to this particular contemporary example primarily as it relates to emerging Hawaiian studies scholarship. *Ancestral Places* is intended by the author to be “an intensely personal view of how Kanaka geographies related to place, time, ancestry, and history frame a Kanaka worldview and sense of place.” Oliveira elaborates on the idea of a Kanaka geography “by commemorating the ways in which they [Kanaka kūpuna] express their connections to their places.”<sup>303</sup>

When deciding where to give birth to their daughter, Kapā and her kāne decided that Māui would be the place where she was born and where her piko and ‘iewe were buried. They made this decision for multiple reasons, their combined genealogical connection to the ‘āina of Maui being the most pertinent. The author goes through the reasoning for their decision which started with the question, “No hea mai ‘oe?” (Where are you from?) and “Na wai ke kama ‘o ‘oe?” (Where do you descend from?). Oliveira explains these two questions that are common place in Hawai‘i when meeting someone for the first time, which situate the people within the context of place and identity. The author peruses through the complications the meaning of this question raised for her identity. Her Hawaiian language teacher had explained that “a “proper” response to the question is to state the (one) place you were raised.” This proved to be a difficult question for the author because she began to question her ties to O‘ahu where she was born and attended school and Maui, where she had

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<sup>302</sup> Kimura, “Native Hawaiian Culture,” 177.

<sup>303</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xix. (My addition)

a deep connection to the ‘āina. In the dialogue below, Oliveira describes her personal experience and how this informed her decisions as a parent:

In spite of being born on O‘ahu, going to school on O‘ahu, and working on O‘ahu, I felt a much deeper connection to Maui. Growing up on O‘ahu, I lived an urban life. I did not have a deep relationship with ‘āina (land, that which feeds). I lived in a house on a property that my parents purchased after I was born. I went to school and came home. I did not know my neighbors.

Growing up on Maui, I lived a rural life. I developed a deep appreciation and love for the land. I swam in the streams, worked in the lo‘i (wetland taro gardens), fished in the ocean, ate fruits of the land, and cared for the burial ground of my kūpuna. I grew up on the kulāiwi of my kūpuna; everyone in the village was either family or family friends.<sup>304</sup>

For these reasons articulated above, Oliveira and her kāne wanted their daughter to have a place of reference for her identity formation with ‘āina, that “she [Kahakai] could state, without hesitation, “Ua hānau ‘ia au ma Maui. No Maui mai au” (I was born on Maui. I am from Maui.) The author attributes this contemporary experience to the changing economy in Hawai‘i shifting “from a barter system to a monetary commerce system” which resulted in many people leaving their “homelands and subsistence farming and fishing lifestyles in search of jobs.”<sup>305</sup> The author relates to this in her current situation, working at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa on O‘ahu during the week and flying to her kulāiwi on Maui to be with family on the weekends. Oliveira acknowledges that these two places have shaped and molded her in different ways and that she approaches these spaces and places differently,

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<sup>304</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xiv.

<sup>305</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xiv.

O‘ahu being the space and place in which she was formally trained as an academic and Maui being the space and place where she learned many of life’s lessons stating that, “I am from both places, but my kuleana differs on each island.”<sup>306</sup> Through the examples above it is clear to see that this cultural practice creates a space for active engagement in this convergence of mo‘okū‘auhau and ‘āina and creates room to explore the ways in which ‘āina as mo‘okū‘auhau shape us at the individual and collective levels. The connection to ‘āina hānau as a single location as in the most recent case by Oliveira and the birth of her daughter, Kahakai or multiple sites of connections whether intentional as in the case of Liholiho or circumstantial as in the case of the kupuna K. Kaleiheana and Oliveira herself, these connections to ‘āina hānau reiterate notions of homeland within the context of both the familial as well as the larger context of the territory.

Through the convergence of mana and ‘āina, the actualizations of ‘āina in birthing practices such as the burial of the piko and ‘iewe, where the biomatter from the creation of new life now becomes an active part of the regeneration of the earth provide an understanding of mana ‘āina and the genealogical framework from which it draws upon. Through the existence of various terms such as ‘āina hānau, one hānau, ēwe ‘āina and those expanded upon in this section it is clear to see the way that ‘āina kūlana pāno‘no‘o through the function of mana ‘āina informs an understanding of homeland and the territorial (geography) tie.

### ***Māna ‘Āina: Kū I Ka Māna***

Kū i ka māna.

Like the one from whom he received what he learned.

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<sup>306</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xv.



Said of a child who behaves like those who reared him.<sup>307</sup>

Māna ‘āina, as a component of the function nā mana ‘āina draws from the genealogical framework discussed in the previous section. As a function of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o, māna ‘āina begins from a genealogical perspective and can be seen through the identification of ‘āina as kūpuna (ancestor; starting point, source) who are engaged in an intrinsic as well as acquired exchange of knowledge. Through the definition of māna, I analyze the importance that this genealogical connection to ‘āina informs the formative value of ‘āina. The word māna is derived from the actual practice “of an adult chewing food, then putting it in the mouth of a young child. Or, similarly, chewing the mass of *kava* (*Piper methysticum*) to prepare ‘awa or *kava* for drinking.”<sup>308</sup> The food or substance that was then shared was called māna and this close contact of the makua (parent, any relative of the parents’ generation) and kūpuna (grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent’s generation) who placed the food into the mouth of the child led to the symbolic connotation of the absorption of traits by the child and further indicated a process of knowledge transmission.

If we thought a child got his happy disposition from his mother, or had his grandfather’s temper, or if he tilted his head the way an uncle did, then we said he ‘*kū i ka māna*’, he fits into the pattern.’ Or we might say ‘that’s so and so’s *māna*’ or just ‘that was absorbed from the mouth.’ Mrs. Pukui explains. (Western psychoanalytic terminology describes much the same process of identifying with another as “incorporation”—which is exactly what is done when food is taken in the body.) Putting food from the mouth of an elder into that of a child also took on

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<sup>307</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No ‘eau*, 202. [‘ŌN, 1875]

<sup>308</sup> Pukui, Haertig, and Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 149-150.

the idea of learning imparted. For before they had a written language, Hawaiians passed down knowledge by word of mouth. The word haumāna means “pupil,” one who so takes in knowledge.<sup>309</sup>

As expressed in this previous quote, by identifying the value of the incorporation of nourishment from the makua and kūpuna in creating traits and characteristics of the next generation and by placing this definition within the context of ‘āina relationships I assert that māna ‘āina provides the nourishment of the land which incorporated, provides traits and characteristics to the individual and collective identity. Furthermore, this principal of consumption, ‘ai, literally meaning “to eat,” highlights the intentionality and importance of the “oral and aural linkages in various knowledge classification sub-systems.” Young asserts that this literal definition and associated metaphor can be seen as a framework for the basic premise that sustains life in traditional Hawaiian society.

‘Ai literally means “to eat.” The framework for sustaining life itself begins with this basic principle. The attendant frame within which the created aspects of consumption did in turn operate demonstrates the sequential thinking of the aboriginal Hawaiian ancient. Such meaning-related terms were given intentionally to develop the oral and aural linkages in various knowledge classification sub-systems. Ordering life in this manner was their grounding in law and the foundation for their politics, spirituality, cultural practices, and economic tasks. Where produce was gathered, grown, or caught was defined as ‘Aina. Typically translated as “land” the term actually can also connote an extension of terra firma into the ocean as a saltwater *field* surrounding islands.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> Pukui, Haertig, and Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu, Vol. I*, 150.

<sup>310</sup> Young, “Kuleana,” 21.

In *Nana I Ke Kumu*, the authors express the belief that the mana from various attributes could be attained through the symbolic ritual, of consuming the eye; “in a magical symbolic way, the *ali ‘i* who consumed the eye thereby absorbed the quality of the eye, the *‘ike* (seeing knowing).”<sup>311</sup>

Legend tells that Kamehemeha’s mother craved and ate the eye of a shark during her pregnancy, thereby taking in and giving to her infant, the daring fierceness of the shark.<sup>312</sup>

The ancillary connections of *‘ai* employed as metaphor, add an additional dimension to the expansion from mana *‘āina*, situated within a genealogical framework, to māna *‘āina* and mānā *‘āina* (also categorized as formative, discussed in next section) or the formative values of *‘āina*. This postulation of māna *‘āina* therefore, expands na mana *‘āina* beyond the genealogical framework on which it is situated by applying the definition of māna in the context of *‘āina* as explained above. I further argue that through the importance of place names as kūpuna that inform characteristic and traits that guide the exchange of knowledge in this process as well as the fixity and fluidity of notions of homeland.

Place names are esteemed in Hawaiian culture for a wide variety of reasons; ranging from the connotative and didactical to aesthetic, all of which are useful within the context of māna *‘āina*. The intimate connection to nature, is illuminated through place names as vocabulary and is “clearly practical, but it was also considered a participation in the wisdom of the past and accomplishments of the ancestors.”<sup>313</sup> *‘Āina*, represented by place names are in and of themselves considered kupa (natives), they are cherished and honored in the way kūpuna are revered as a way to link “people to their home, personal past and their history.”<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 151.

<sup>312</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 151.

<sup>313</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 14.

<sup>314</sup> Kimura, “Native Hawaiian Culture,” 178.

Through the context of vocabulary, place names guide our perception of ‘āina by bringing our attention to it, there by guiding our exchange of knowledge. Through the intensive use of vocabulary, Charlot articulates that the interaction between observation and the naming of place provides insight into the interdependent nature of experience, innovation and tradition that shape an understanding of the world around us.<sup>315</sup>

The intensive use of vocabulary in Hawaiian culture is demonstrated by its size and precision, a result of close observation: colors of the water, states of the ocean, parts of plants, emotions, and so on, are minutely differentiated by the words applied to them. Words and names are important throughout Hawaiian culture and were considered to possess a real connection to their referents...a treasure to be valued and transmitted to future generations.<sup>316</sup>

Linguist Samuel H. Elbert in the first edition of *Place Names of Hawaii* posed the question, “How many place names are there or were there in the Hawaiian Islands?” His answer, “Even a rough estimate is impossible: a hundred thousand? a million?”<sup>317</sup> This edition of *Place Names of Hawaii*, printed in 1966 contained 1,125 entries and when the edition was expanded 1974, a total of 4,000 entries were included.<sup>318</sup> Elbert articulates that the proportions of place names that are found in proverbial sayings, narratives (such as mo‘olelo and ka‘ao), poetry, music and other genres, that are reflective of aloha ‘āina—“love for the land and the people of the land.”<sup>319</sup> The expansive nature of place names in the Hawaiian world commenting on their use and practice for the reason of their proliferation.

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<sup>315</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 210-211.

<sup>316</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 14. In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 241.

<sup>317</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, x.

<sup>318</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, ix.

<sup>319</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names,” 117-133; 118.

Hawaiians named taro patches, rocks and trees that represented deities and ancestors, sites of houses and heiau (places of worship), canoe landings, fishing stations in the sea, resting places in the forest, and the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place. And an important element...that added zest to the use of place names and encouraged their proliferation is the pleasure they provided the poet and jokester.<sup>320</sup>

According to Elbert, Hawaiians, like most Polynesians, are “fond of proverbial sayings that are memorized verbatim, and are used less for didactic purposes than as displays of wit, and as praise of land...the core of these sayings is the double meaning in the place names.”<sup>321</sup>

Praise of the land was valued even above the instruction and information within these proverbial sayings, perhaps because the information and teachings within them were already understood and the employment became more about the value of the kaona or multiple meanings.<sup>322</sup>

This assertion by Elbert is indicative of the familiarity with ‘āina epithets, such as place names or ‘ōlelo no‘eau, that they were enjoyed far beyond their practical use. However, their practical use can insight meaning where they have been lost. Kekuewa Kikiloi, in the article “Rebirth of An Archipelago” explains that through semantic analysis of “etymology (identifying historical cognates)” as well as understanding kaona or multiple meanings, “these insights...can help to define orientation, position and actual geographic locations.”<sup>323</sup> Furthermore, he asserts that place names therefore serve as “important reference points, which can prompt dormant memories to be remembered.”<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mo‘okini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, x.

<sup>321</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names,” 118.

<sup>322</sup> Elbert, “Connotative Value of Place Names.”

<sup>323</sup> Kikiloi, “Rebirth of An Archipelago,” 79.

<sup>324</sup> Kikiloi, “Rebirth of An Archipelago,” 79.

As mentioned previously in this section, the interaction between “tradition and experience, between our learning of the old and our experience of the new,” (discussed in a future chapter as traditional and original perception) allow for the “innovations and new creations, which can in turn become part of the tradition.”<sup>325</sup> This exchange between close observation and the naming of phenomenon or place, were widely used in multiple genres and would create a foundation for perception, “when therefore a Hawaiian visited a place he possessed a memorized guide to his perceptions.”<sup>326</sup>

The function of māna ‘āina includes this memorized, trained or engaged guide to perception and focus’ on what lies beyond, to which the Hawaiian was not limited to and asks the question, how is ‘āina shaping the world around it? The specific features and unique characteristics of place; the natural elements, the way that winds and rains rise and fall and so on developed a population with “distinctive general character and cultural style.”<sup>327</sup> These geographical differences across the archipelago or the familial reverence in place names, allows insight into resulting relationships. Abad states that geographical differences such as “the general patterns in environmental opportunities and constraints played a major role in influencing the development of Hawaiian polities.”<sup>328</sup> These influences depended on spatial relationships such as the “windward-leeward dichotomy” and “north-to-south dimension.”<sup>329</sup> An example of this is showcased in the following ‘ōlelo no‘eau, in which the general environment pattern of the Ko‘olau, or windward side of the island, which is often ‘storm-beaten,’ is used as a warning against an act of wrath and destruction. This seemingly simple epithet has three layers of kaona that add great insight to how māna ‘āina can be understood.

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<sup>325</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 211.

<sup>326</sup> Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, 212.

<sup>327</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

<sup>328</sup> Abad, “Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity,” 76-77.

<sup>329</sup> Abad, “Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity,” 76-77.

‘Ōlelo No‘eau: He au Ko‘olau aku ia.

Translation: That is Ko‘olau weather.<sup>330</sup>

The first layer of kaona is based on the observation that the Ko‘olau, or windward side of an island is often storm-beaten. The second layer comes from an interlude in *Ka Mo‘olelo ‘o Hi‘iaka*. This ‘ōlelo no‘eau was first used in a chant directed toward Hi‘iaka by Wahine‘ōma‘o, “who pleaded with her not to let her wrath lead to destruction.” The third layer is based on creative use of knowledge and was “used as a warning that headstrong willfulness leads to distress.”<sup>331</sup>

Another way in which the function of māna ‘āina aligns with “kū i ka māna” or the becoming of the “one from whom he received what he learned” is exemplified through Oliveira’s analysis of the interaction between the ali‘i and maka‘āinana and their fluidity and fixity within ‘āina.<sup>332</sup> In *Ancestral Places*, Oliveira articulates that, by examining the social norms of the ali‘i and maka‘āinana within the context of Kanaka geography, “distinct behavioral patterns” emerge that shaped and constructed Kanaka identities and characteristic of each group.<sup>333</sup> Kanaka geography, for Oliveira, is based on the mo‘olelo related to the ancestral places of Kānaka and the relationships that Kānaka share with the environment as it relates “to place, time, ancestry, and history [in order] to frame a Kanaka worldview and sense of place.”<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 64. [‘ŌN, 550]

<sup>331</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 64. [‘ŌN, 550]

<sup>332</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 202. [‘ŌN, 1875] Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 28-29.

<sup>333</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xvii, 25.

<sup>334</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xvii. (My Addition) Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 149.

Oliveira employs a variety of forms and definitions of the term kanaka to provide clarity of space, place and positions which are reprinted from the glossary here:

kanaka: a native person

kānaka: natives; people

Kanaka: Native Hawaiian; used as an adjective for Native Hawaiians(s)

Kānaka: Native Hawaiians

Kanaka ‘Ōiwi: Native people of the land

The fluidity of the ali‘i and fixity of the maka‘āinana signified by rank and genealogy determined mobility. The mo‘okū‘auhau of the ali‘i signified a chief’s mana, personal ties to ‘āina and the right to rule. Through the practice of mo‘okū‘auhau to secure political alliances during their reign and establish “senior lines” the ali‘i were able to expand their geographical reach as illustrated by the Maui ali‘i, Ka‘ulahea I (k) and Kapohanaupuni (w); extending their territorial reach from Maui to neighboring Moloka‘i, O‘ahu and Lāna‘i through their children and grandchildren.<sup>335</sup> Although ali‘i had the possibility of a more expansive reach over ‘āina, it was unusual that they would “enjoy the same rights of long-term residency to which the maka‘āinana were accustomed, as ali‘i land stewards, were redefined by wars and alliances.”<sup>336</sup>

In contrast, it was common for maka‘āinana to live on their lands for generations “regardless of changes in government.”<sup>337</sup> Although the maka‘āinana enjoyed the freedom to leave a place if they desired, such as in the case of a bad chief, “this fixity was considered a virtue and a blessing.”<sup>338</sup> As an ali‘i, to maintain rule for generations was celebrated for having ties to the land that were reflective of the maka‘āinana.

In cases where ali‘i maintained rule for generations, such ali‘i were celebrated as “mauliahonua,” meaning descendant of old chiefs of the land,” because such royal families were firmly established in their homeland.<sup>339</sup>

The ways in which the ali‘i and the maka‘āinana mapped their relationship to ‘āina sheds light on the concept of the boundaries of homeland and the extension from one hānau (birth

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<sup>335</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 28-29.

<sup>336</sup> Oliveria, *Ancestral Places*, 33. Kanahele, *Ku Kanaka, Stand Tall*, 181.

<sup>337</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 33. Note: Maka‘āinana were free to move if they were not well cared for by their konohiki. Andrade, *Hā‘ena*, 75-76

<sup>338</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

<sup>339</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 33. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 242. [mauliahonua]



sands, homeland) and ‘āina kulāiwi (land where the bones began, homeland) to larger territories such as those ruled by ali‘i with the status of mauiauhonua (descendants of old chiefs of the land). For the maka‘āinana, referential mapping of place was critical and the basic answer to ‘no hea mai ‘oe (where are you from)?’ included this memorized, trained or engaged guide to perception of ‘āina.

A person, saying, for example, that they were from Kuewa, implied that they and their family had roots on the island of Maui, in the moku of Kā‘anapali, in the kalana (a division of land smaller than a moku) of Kahakuloa, on the ‘ili ‘āina (a smaller land division than ahupua‘a that was subdivided into mo‘o ‘āina; also known as ‘ili ‘āina) of Kuewa, a place ma uka (toward the mountains), bordering a stream. As a person residing on an ‘ili ‘āina known to have twenty lo‘i kalo, they were probably farmers (as were their kūpuna).<sup>340</sup>

The wisdom and protection of ‘āina during maturation is indicative of a process “in which a person continually deepens his knowledge of the land that is simultaneously forming him.”<sup>341</sup>

One of the most well known of these terms being kama‘āina, meaning “land child”<sup>342</sup> or “child of the land”—<sup>343</sup> a word used both for a person who is “native born, [or] one born in a place.”<sup>344</sup> Oliveira explains that an ideal to have both this fixity and fluidity of homeland culminates in the term “mauiauhonua.”<sup>345</sup> Here it is expressed that through the ali‘i that has both fluidity and fixity, is achieved a prized ideal of homeland. A sentiment that is further confirmed in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “ua ho‘ēwe pa‘a ‘ia i loko o kona papa houpo ali‘i” the

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<sup>340</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 42.

<sup>341</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56-57. “Ua kama‘āina au i kō lākou ana, I am accustomed to their ways.” In Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 124. [kama‘āina]

<sup>342</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 124. [kama‘āina]

<sup>343</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56-57.

<sup>344</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 124. [kama‘āina] (My addition)

<sup>345</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 33. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 242. [mauiauhonua]

translation being, “firmly fixed in the heart of the chiefly class.”<sup>346</sup> This dichotomy between the fixity of the maka‘āinana and the fluidity of the ali‘i provide a frame of reference for the way that notions of homeland are employed through the movements within ‘āina.

### ***Mānā ‘Āina***

The final function of the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o, is mānā ‘āina. The employment of this particular function goes beyond the basic definition of mānā provided by the *Hawaiian Dictionary* and *Nānā I Ke Kumu* as the definition within these sources are limited. I provide the foundation for further inquiry into possible meanings and uses of the term mānā through ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and a place name analysis of Mānā, Kaua‘i. Although the definitions and explanations on mānā are limited from these sources, the ‘ōlelo no‘eau related to the word mānā are plentiful and 12 out of the 15 are specifically related to Mānā, Kaua‘i.<sup>347</sup> Through ‘ōlelo no‘eau, the basic definition of mānā provided by the *Hawaiian Dictionary* and *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, has been significantly expanded to provide the foundation for the employment of mānā ‘āina as an interaction with ‘āina on a multi-dimensional level, and through a transference of ‘āina imagery. Furthermore, through the use of the ‘ōlelo no‘eau “ku‘u iwi, “ku‘u koko (my bone, my blood), I articulate ways in which the juxtaposition between mortality and immortality and the theoretical merging of the consciousness and ‘āina.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 43. [ēwe]

<sup>347</sup> The remaining three ‘ōlelo no‘eau, although not specifically categorized as such also have themes that can be related to the attributes of Mānā, Kaua‘i, such as the dry or arid in nature, but are not directly connected to this place and for that reason have not been included in this analysis.

<sup>348</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 207. [‘ŌN, 1932]

The ‘ōlelo no‘eau connected to Mānā, range from general observations of the environment, highlighting important places and practices of the area and displaying how these varying attributes have inspired creative uses of knowledge through ‘āina. As expressed through the definition mānā, the place Mānā is connected to similar sentiments and is known for the intense heat of the sun. In *Place Names of Hawai‘i*, Mānā, Kaua‘i is described as a coastal plain from “Kekaha to Polihale, fronted by a calcareous sand beach...along the inner edge of the plain is an ancient sea cliff,” that extends approximately 15 miles long and holds “one of the longest beaches in Hawai‘i.”<sup>349</sup> The ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “Mānā kaha kua welawela” or “Mānā where the back feels the heat [of the sun]” is a perfect reference to the heat or the arid nature associated with the basic definition of mānā and the place Mānā, Kaua‘i (although, there are interesting connections to the abundance of water in Mānā as will be explained later). The heat of the sun was also a reference or connecting point for explaining the mirages that Mānā, Kaua‘i is famous for as articulated through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “ahu kupanaha ka lā i Mānā.”

‘ŌN Text: Ahu kupanaha ka lā i Mānā.

Translation: Peculiar is the action of the sun in Mānā.

Explanation: Said of a delusion. Mānā, Kaua‘i, is a place where mirages were once seen.<sup>350</sup>

As described above, Mānā is a place that is known for mirages, which have several causes, the movement or power of the sun (‘ōlelo no‘eau, 18 and 1908), the nights dedicated to Kū and Kāne (‘ōlelo no‘eau, 1657), or through the power of the akua of mirages, Limaloa (‘ōlelo

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<sup>349</sup> Clark, John R.K., *Hawaii Place Names*. <http://www.ulukau.org> Entry on Mānā in Plain, *Hawaii Place Names* Mānā, Kaua‘i. Coastal plain from Kekaha to Polihale fronted by a calcareous sand beach approximately 15 miles long, one of the longest beaches in Hawai‘i. The cliff along the inner edge of the plain is an ancient sea cliff and the composition of the plain is a combination of lagoon deposits, calcareous beach and dune sand, and alluvium. *Lit.*, arid.

<sup>350</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 5. [‘ŌN, 18.]

no‘eau, 1909). The akua Limaloa was known to set up an entire village in the light of the moon at various times of the year which would “vanish as quickly as it had appeared.”<sup>351</sup>

‘ŌN Text: Kūkulu kauhale a Limaloa.

Translation: Limaloa builds his house.

Explanation: Limaloa was the god of mirages who at certain times of the year would build a village in the moonlight at Mānā, Kaua‘i. The village would vanish as quickly as it had appeared.<sup>352</sup>

Through the connection between Mānā and the idea of mirage, various creative uses of knowledge are applied through ōlelo no‘eau, such as someone who is overdressed, “Ke ‘anapa nei ka wai li‘ulā o Mānā--The water in the mirage of Mānā sparkles.”<sup>353</sup> Another example of this being, “Ikea maila ‘o Mānā, ua hā‘ale i ka wai li‘ulā--Mānā notices the waters of the mirage,” meaning that “the attempt to fool is very obvious.”<sup>354</sup> The ways that water is employed in connection to the idea of the mirage in these ‘ōlelo no‘eau is also very interesting and points to the movement of water at Mānā, Kaua‘i. Although it is a coastal place that is known for its intense heat as seen in the examples above, it is also known for its abundance of water during the rainy season as expressed in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “Mānā i ka pu‘e kalo ho‘one‘ene‘e a ka wai--Mānā, where the mounded taro moves in the water.”<sup>355</sup>

According to Pukui, “when the rainy season came, the whole area was flooded as far as Kalamaihihi, and it took weeks for the water to subside” as a result the farmers there planted and grew kalo differently, in which a technique of “deep water mound-planting” was used as was the case in Kolo at Mānā.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 205. [‘ŌN, 1909]

<sup>352</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 205. [‘ŌN, 1909]

<sup>353</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 181. [‘ŌN, 1680]

<sup>354</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 131. [‘ŌN, 1203]

<sup>355</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 232-233. [‘ŌN, 2135]

<sup>356</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 232-233. [‘ŌN, 2135]

The farmers built rafts of sticks and rushes, then dived into the water. They worked the bases of the taro mounds free and lifted them carefully, so as not to disturb the soil, to the rafts where they were secured. The weight of the mounds submerged the rafts but permitted the taro stalks to grow above water just as they did before the flood came. The rafts were tied together to form a large, floating field of taro.<sup>357</sup>

This connection to this seasonal abundance of water at Mānā, was also captured in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “‘Umeke piha wai ‘o Mānā--A calabash full of water is Mānā.”<sup>358</sup> This interplay between water and the mirage at Mānā converges in a very creative way in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau “Hō‘ale‘ale Mānā i ke kaha o Kaunalewa--Mānā ripples over the land of Kaunalewa.” This ‘ōlelo no‘eau appropriates the places, Mānā and Kaunalewa to describe the movements and expression of hula. Through Mānā, and its connections to water, “Hō‘ale‘ale Mānā” or “Mānā ripples” is a “play on ‘ale‘ale, to ripple like water”, and is a reflection of the hand gestures in hula. The second half of the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “i ke kaha o Kaunalewa” refers to the sway of the hips, through lewa—sway.<sup>359</sup>

‘ŌN Text: Hō‘ale‘ale Mānā i ke kaha o Kaunalewa.

Translation: Mānā ripples over the land of Kaunalewa.

Explanation: Said of the movements of a dance. A play on ‘ale‘ale (to ripple like water), referring to the gestures of the hands, and lewa (to sway), referring to the movement of the hips.<sup>360</sup>

Kaunalewa is translated as “swaying place” in *Place Names of Hawai‘i* and is the site of a famous coconut grove, alluding to the possibility that the naming of this place was “perhaps

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<sup>357</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 232. [‘ŌN, 2135]

<sup>358</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 314. [‘ŌN, 2874]

<sup>359</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 109. [‘ŌN, 1018]

<sup>360</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 109. [‘ŌN, 1018]

referring to [the swaying of the] coconuts.”<sup>361</sup> According to Lloyd Soehren, Kaunalewa is a ridge in Waimea, Kaua‘i and a reference to Niu Ridge in Kaunalewa provides a further connection to the coconut grove alluded to in this ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Here Soehren references *Archaeology of Kaua‘i* by Bennett, and lists the area of “Makahoe heiau and village site on Niu ridge, Kaunalewa...[as] a small platform village shrine. Thrum describes the village as ‘four and one-half miles from the coast and at an altitude of 1200 feet.”<sup>362</sup> Through this description we have an added depth to the movement that is first facilitated by the movements of hula and then further the physical space between Mānā and Kaunalewa.

This dimension of the ‘ōlelo no‘eau is of particular interest in shaping the use of the function of mānā ‘āina. Through the movement from Mānā in the coastal lowlands to the uplands of Kaunalewa, there is a transference of imagery specifically applied by the movement through ‘āina. Mānā moves like the ripples of the water over the land of Kaunalewa in the uplands, the imagery of the two places are informing each other creating this unique dialogue between places. By expanding the basic definition of mānā provided by the *Hawaiian Dictionary* and *Nānā I Ke Kumu* through the employment of ‘ōlelo no‘eau, mānā ‘āina as function of kūlana pāno‘ono‘o is seen as an interaction with ‘āina on a multi-dimensional level including a transference of ‘āina imagery. The functions of mānā ‘āina as expanded further still through the use of the ‘ōlelo no‘eau “ku‘u iwi, “u‘u koko (my bone, my blood). Here I articulate the ways in which the juxtaposition between mortality and immortality and allow for the functions of mānā ‘āina to include the theoretical merging of the consciousness and ‘āina.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Pukui, Elbert and Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 95.

<sup>362</sup> Bennett, *Archaeology of Kaua‘i*. In Soehren, Lloyd, “Hawaiian Place Names,” Makahoe. <http://ulukau.org/>

<sup>363</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 207. [‘ŌN, 1932]

*Mānā ‘Āina: Ku‘u iwi, Ku‘u koko (My bone, my blood.)*<sup>364</sup>

In *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, the word iwi koko is defined as a living person or blooded bones, as opposed to, iwi koko‘ole—bones without blood, meaning a dead person.<sup>365</sup> In Hawaiian epistemology and ontology, iwi is connected to “many figurative expressions...meaning life, old age.”<sup>366</sup> Iwi are a sign of immortality, as it was manifest in the bones because the iwi “survived the decaying flesh” and “remained, the cleanly [sic], lasting portion of the man or woman who once lived,” as opposed to the koko, that was considered haumia or defiled and defiling.<sup>367</sup> The iwi, even those of a living person were seen as a link between the living and the progenitors, and a symbol of an eventual immortality. The symbolism and importance of iwi in Hawaiian traditions are reflective of the great respect shown, as iwi “were guarded, respected, treasured, venerated, loved or even deified by relatives.”<sup>368</sup> Because they were so revered, they could also be coveted and despoiled by enemies, as a sign of immense disrespect.<sup>369</sup> On the other hand, blood as mentioned earlier was considered haumia or defiled and defiling but also has interesting connections to both the mortal and immortal aspects of life. Kame‘eleihiwi in *Native Lands and Foreign Desires*, explains that the ‘Aikapu (sacred eating), the religious system that ordered traditional Hawaiian society involved a separation of men and women during eating and was based on women as being haumia or defiling by virtue of menstruation.

The ‘Aikapu is a religion in which males and females are separated in the act of eating, males being *la‘a* or “sacred,” and females *haumia* or “defiling,” by virtue of menstruation. Since, in this context, eating is for men a religious sacrifice to the

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<sup>364</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 207. [‘ŌN, 1932]

<sup>365</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 111.

<sup>366</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 104-105. [iwi]

<sup>367</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 107.

<sup>368</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 107.

<sup>369</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 112.

male *Akua* Lono, it must be done apart from anything defiling, especially women. (Female, *mana* however, was only *haumia* to the male *Akua*, and not the the female *Akua* whom women worshipped freely.)<sup>370</sup>

Kame‘eleihiwa further asserts that the word *haumia* is close to the female *akua* *Haumea* who is the *akua* of child birth and procreation and that, “women in traditional Hawaiian literature are incredibly strong and powerful,” giving multiple examples including that “they give birth to the ‘*Āina*, *Akua* and *Ali‘i* (e.g., Papa, Pele, La‘ila‘i, and *Haumea*).”<sup>371</sup> The term *haumia* or defiling in the context of menstration in the ‘*Aikapu* as well as defiling in the loss of blood, when a person is *iwi koko ‘ole* or bones without blood sheds light on the importance of the metaphores of blood in both the temporal and immortal aspects of life. Through the temporal nature, when our bodies no longer produce blood we are no longer among the living, and when a women menstruates or suffers the loss of blood, she also suffers that connection to the “creative link in the long and mystic chain from *aumākua* on through the flesh-and-blood offspring of the infinite future.”<sup>372</sup> Although I have no foundation beyond this argument, I assert that this could be a start to further reseach on the idea that the aspects of *haumia* as the metaphore for the defiling nature of women as a result of menstration are connected to the sacredness of procreation. Furthermore, that the defiling nature is based on the missed opportunity of the fulfillment of the procreative process. The connection of the *koko* and *iwi* as described here speaks to the juxtapostion between mortality and immortality and allow for the functions of *mānā ‘āina* to include the theoretical merging of the consciousness and ‘*āina*.

Ku‘u *iwi*, ku‘u *koko*, are also ways in which Hawaiians expressed connections to ‘*āina* and to ‘*ohana* relationships. The word *kulāiwi* translates to “native land, homeland,”

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<sup>370</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires*, 23. (Author’s emphasis)

<sup>371</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires*, 34. (Author’s emphasis)

<sup>372</sup> Pukui, Haeritg & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 183.



and was often thought of as a person's birth place. In *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, kulāiwi is explained as having the literally meaning “‘land of bones’ ...with the idea that ‘here my bones began.’”<sup>373</sup> Therefore, iwi through the connection to the beginning of life, retains both an individuality as well as a connection to the collective, through mo‘okū‘auhau. Although *Nānā I Ke Kumu* indicates that the connection of kulāiwi to a term like ‘āina hānau (birthplace) which was discussed in the beginning of this chapter, more recent scholars such as Oliveira and Charlot have employed kulāiwi as “ancestral homeland” or “land of their bones” respectively, reinforcing the concept of fixity of the term homeland.<sup>374</sup> This collective nature is further expressed through iwi kuamo‘o, “backbone, or close relative” as the term was used for a chief's retainers, who were always close relatives.<sup>375</sup> This connection to both the individual and the collective community was also expressed in the word koko, in its connection of iwi koko, the individual, the living person, with the term, pili koko or blood relationship or “related by blood.”<sup>376</sup>

Although there is much to be said on the importance of iwi and koko as is evident in *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, I would like to focus on this dichotomy posed by the term iwi koko or living person and the relationship between koko and the present and immortality of iwi that connects us to the past and future. This exchange and interaction between the present through koko and the past and future through iwi create a space to expound on mānā ‘āina, and the constant exchange happening on multiple levels of perception and the perpetual connection to the world around us through the virtual/real exchange. This exchange can be fully expressed in a “conscious merging of the person into the environment,” as highlighted in *Chanting the*

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373 Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 112.

374 Oliveira, *Ancetral Places*, xiii. Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 55.

375 Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, 112.

376 Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Vol. I, , 108. “Bone-keeping was one of several practices that indicate Hawaiian recognition of the uniqueness of the individual. Even bones of the dead retained individuality. P. 108.” Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 330. [HD. Pili koko]

*Universe* through the mele, “Wai Huihui o ke Aniani, Cold Water of the Clearness.” In this mele the line “Ka ‘uhene a ka wai i ka ‘ili” expresses the kaona of the way the waters touch the skin simultaneously with the water touching the pebbles:

The word ‘ili can mean either pebbles or skin. The line can, therefore, be translated either, “The delight of the water on the pebbles” or “The delight of the water on the skin.” The point in the Hawaiian is clearly that both are meant and the two are identified: the person and pebbles feel the same delight in the water running over them. ‘Ili can mean the surface of each.<sup>377</sup>

However, this consciousness or merging with ‘āina is understood through the limitations of relationship of the pair, or the virtual/real. This relationship that is established over generations creates “a capacity to receive and perceive stimuli” that contributes to an overall collective understanding of the Hawaiian world.<sup>378</sup> As Charlot indicates, that although immediate impressions can be made, “the person whose family has been in a place over several generations [and] is *noho papa*, established in the foundational layer.”<sup>379</sup> Through multiple generations, you become the seed bank of this land, fully shaped by your environment.<sup>380</sup> Furthermore, as articulated by Kanahele in the article, “I am This Land and This Land Is Me,” being connected and grounded in the cycles of the universe as it relates to your own environment creates a foundation for understanding the ways that ‘āina is engaging us through the concept ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o.

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<sup>377</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 71.

<sup>378</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, xvii.

<sup>379</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

<sup>380</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 56.

***Conclusion: “the rule of mana”: misuse it and lose it.***<sup>381</sup>

Through mo‘olelo, specifically mele ko‘ihonua, mo‘okū‘auhau and the formative value of ‘āina, the connection to ‘āina is multi-dimensional (genealogical, intellectual, emotional, physical). The framework expressed through the function of nā mana ‘āina--mana ‘āina, māna ‘āina and mānā ‘āina provides further understanding of the epistemological and ontological connection to ‘āina as homeland. The connections between nā mana ‘āina and the body, expressed through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “ku‘u ēwe, ku‘u piko, ku‘u iwi, ku‘u koko”—my umbilical cord, my navel, my bone, my blood—both at the level of the individual and collective to expand the contour of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o through understanding of such terms as kulaiwi, where the bones began and the here my bones end, as well as the symbolism of the bones both in life and after, as a symbol of the connection between the progenitors while at the same time the immortality of the person.<sup>382</sup> Through our understanding of kulaiwi, which has a very close meaning to “‘ōiwi — native son [sic]; native of the land,” provide a foundation for understanding a deeper connection to ‘āina and the myriad functions of mana of which I have explored a few branches in a very specific way.<sup>383</sup> Conversely, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* asserts that when observing the process of abuse and the transference of power to the oppressed in the event of amassing group power, the result cross culturally is the same, the “oppressor is deposed.”<sup>384</sup> However, what makes understandings of mana different is that “in Hawaiian thought the Supernatural [takes] away the misused *mana* and strengthen[s] the *mana* of the oppressed.”<sup>385</sup> Through the concept of kūlana pāno‘ono‘o and the function of nā mana ‘āina, I propose that ‘āina is a facilitator for

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<sup>381</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 152.

<sup>382</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 107.

<sup>383</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 112.

<sup>384</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 152-153.

<sup>385</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee. *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Vol. I*, 152-153.

the transference of mana though the employment of the genealogical framework and formative values.

### Chapter 3: Between Memory and History

History, because it is an intellectual and scholarly production,  
calls for analysis and criticism.

Memory installs remembrance within the sacred;  
history, always prosaic, releases it again.<sup>386</sup>

Through an analysis of two chants within the mo‘olelo (story, literature) *Laieikawai* by S.N. Hale‘ole and the *Ka‘ao no Pamano*, Charlot identifies points of interaction between traditional and original perception that highlights this attention and connection to place and the interplay between memory and history in Hawaiian tradition as expressed through these Hawaiian literary forms.<sup>387</sup> Furthermore, through the concepts of memory and history presented in Pierre Nora’s article, “Between Memory and History” and two texts by Pualani Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola* and the article “I am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” I negotiate the intersections and movements between what Nora terms “environments of memory” and “sites of memory.” By analyzing this convergence of and interaction between memory and history with ‘āina as the piko, I am creating a space to articulate an understanding of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o or ‘āina as a remembering function, and the ways in which aloha ‘āina is expressed.

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<sup>386</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8-9.

<sup>387</sup> Hale‘ole, S. N., and Martha Warren Beckwith. *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*.

Introduction and Translation by Beckwith:

“*La‘ieikawai* is a Hawaiian romance which recounts the wooing of a native chiefess of high rank and her final deification among the gods. The story was handed down orally from ancient times in the form of a ka‘ao, a narrative rehearsed in prose interspersed with song, in which form old tales are still recited by Hawaiian storytellers. It was put into writing by a native Hawaiian, S.N. Hale‘ole, who hoped thus to awaken in his countrymen an interest in genuine native storytelling based upon the folklore of their race and preserving its ancient customs.”

Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 254. [mo‘olelo] Mo‘olelo as defined by Pukui & Elbert in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, include “story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting.”

### *Traditional and Original Perception*

Through the mo‘olelo of *Lā‘ieikawai* by S.N. Hale‘ole and *Ka‘ao no Pamano* (Story of Pamano) recorded by Fornander, Charlot identifies points of interaction between traditional and original perception in *Chanting the Universe*.<sup>388</sup> I use the two examples highlighted by Charlot as this is where I was introduced to the concept of the interplay between traditional and original perception and the analysis provided by Charlot lays the foundation but leaves room for further analysis as his explanation of the use of traditional and original perception is made within the larger context in his chapter titled “Aloha ‘Āina: Love for the Land.”<sup>389</sup> Furthermore, the foundation laid by Charlot allowed for me to build on the attention and connection to place and the interplay between memory and history in Hawaiian tradition as expressed through these Hawaiian literary forms.<sup>390</sup>

Within the mo‘olelo *Lā‘ieikawai* by S.N. Hale‘ole, Charlot focuses on a moment in the life of the ali‘i Hinaikamalama of Ka‘uiki in Hāna. Hinaikamalama has a love affair with a visiting chief Kekalukaluokewa which abruptly ends when his wife Laielohelohe arrives in Hāna to bring him back and leaves her broken hearted. Overwhelmed with love, she spends her “time sitting at the entrance of her house gazing toward Ka‘uiki.”<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> Hale‘ole, S. N., and Martha Warren Beckwith. *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*. Washington: Govt. Print. Off, 1918. Fornander, Abraham. Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Vol. V. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1918-1919, 136-153. In Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 63-64. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 254. [mo‘olelo] Mo‘olelo as defined by Pukui & Elbert in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, include “story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting.”

<sup>389</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 53-78. Charlot’s analysis of traditional and original perception is limited to two pages 62-64.

<sup>390</sup> Hale‘ole, translated by Beckwith, *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, 1918. Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore: Vol. V*, 136-153. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 254. [mo‘olelo] Mo‘olelo as defined by Pukui & Elbert in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, include “story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article; minutes, as of a meeting.”

<sup>391</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64. Ka‘uiki, alternatively written as Kauwiki in the *Mo‘olelo ‘o Lā‘ieikawai*.

As Hinaikamalama seeks to “quiet (ho‘onānā) her emotion, she climbs with her attendants the hill called Kaiwiopele, the bones of Pele, [also] the site of a rape in the affair of that volcano goddess with Kamapua‘a.”<sup>392</sup> Ka‘iwiopele is also the site where “Pele’s bones were left... after her battle with her older sister, Nā-maka-o-Kaha‘i.”<sup>393</sup> According to another mo‘olelo it is also the site where Pele transcends to become the akua of Kīlauea.<sup>394</sup> Through Hinaikamalama’s unceasing gaze toward the site of her love affair, the reader is unremittingly reminded of the connection of this relationship through Hinaikamalama’s relationship with the place names Ka‘uiki<sup>395</sup>, Honokalani<sup>396</sup> and Kaiwiopele.<sup>397</sup>

In this section of the mo‘olelo, Hale‘ole mediates a space to perceive the intricacies of the relationship between memory, history and place; by identifying further layers of both traditional and original perception and the ways they intersect through the layering of emotions experienced by the ali‘i Hinaikamalama with the description of the physical environment at the three aforementioned sites of Ka‘uiki, Honokalani and Kaiwiopele. First, I identify two layers within original perception—the emotions expressed as she ascends the hill of Kaiwiopele and the gazing over at Ka‘uiki and surrounding area, which I build upon the example laid out by Charlot by adding further depth to the original analysis and going further

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<sup>392</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64. (My addition.)

<sup>393</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 71. [Ka‘iwioPele] Ka‘uiki. Head, point, and lighthouse, Hāna, Maui, home of the demigod Māui, and birthplace of Ka‘ahu-manu. Battles were fought at a fortress here between Maui defenders and invaders from Hawai‘i. (Ii 172; RC 80, 160; Westervelt, n.d.:7.) See Pu‘u-ki‘i. Lit., the glimmer.

<sup>394</sup> Westervelt, W. D. *Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes (Mythology)* Collected and Translated from the Hawaiian. Boston, 3-14.

<sup>395</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 92.

Ka‘uiki. Head, point, and lighthouse, Hāna, Maui, home of the demigod Māui, and birthplace of Ka‘ahu-manu. Battles were fought at a fortress here between Maui defenders and invaders from Hawai‘i. (Ii 172; RC 80, 160; Westervelt, n.d.:7.) See Pu‘u-ki‘i. Lit., the glimmer.

<sup>396</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 49.

Honokalani. Land section, Hāna qd., Maui. Lit., the royal chief bay. No reference in ‘Ōlelo No‘eau.

<sup>397</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 71.

Ka-iwi-o-Pele. A cinder hill, Hāna qd., Maui. Lit., the bone of Pele. (Pele’s bones were left here after her battle with her older sister, Nā-maka-o-Kaha‘i. Lono-muku left the top of this hill to go to live on the moon. This hill is the principal landmark for Po‘o, a fishing station off Kī-pahulu. Kama-pua‘a ravished Pele here; HM 213.)

in the second interchange of the memories of her recent past and the love affair with Kekalukaluokewa.

At Kaiwiopole, she turns once again facing Ka‘uiki: “she gazes (nānā) toward Kahalaoka<sup>398</sup> and sees the clouds settling directly above Honokalani, bay of the chief. Hinaikamalama is overcome with grief and her present moments are trapped in thoughts of her lover and “with strange numbness of great love, she chants:”<sup>399</sup>

Me he ao puapuaa la ke aloha e kau nei,  
 Ka uhi paapu popele i kuu manawa,  
 He malihini puka paha ko ka hale,  
 Ke hulahula nei kuu maka.  
 He maka uwe paha—e. Oia—e.  
 E uwe aku ana no wau ia oe,  
 I ka lele ae a ke ehukai o Hanualele. [Nanualele]  
 Uhi pono ae la iuka o Honokalani.  
 Kuu Lani—e. Oia—e.<sup>400</sup>

Like dense banks of rain clouds, love settles  
 on me here,  
 Unbroken, night-black covering over my  
 emotion.  
 Maybe a stranger has appeared at the door  
 of the house.  
 My eyes dance about,

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<sup>398</sup> No reference to the place name Kahalaoka (or variations) in *Place Names of Hawaii* or ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*. No further search conducted.

<sup>399</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64.

Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 49. [Honokalani. Land section, Hāna quad., Maui. *Lit.*, the royal chief bay.]

<sup>400</sup> Hale‘ole, S. N., *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, trans. Martha Warren Beckwith, 320-321. (My Addition) Alternative translation from Beckwith provided for further information. “Like a gathering cloud love settles upon me, Thick darkness wraps my heart. A stranger perhaps at the door of the house, My eyes dance. It maybe they weep, alas! I shall be weeping for you. As flies the sea spray of Hanualele, Right over the heights of Honokalani. My high one! So it feels.”



Wailing eyes maybe. It is so.  
 I am wailing out to you  
 In the up flight of the sea spray of Hanualele [Nanualele]  
 Covering over the upland of The Bay of  
 the Chief.  
 My chief. It is so.<sup>401</sup>

Hinaikamalama is overcome with emotion and wails at the conclusion of this chant and her attendants wail with her; overlaying her experience with the environment through the clouds, the bay and including the aforementioned place names of Ka'uiki, Honokalani, and Kaiwiopole.

The chant opens with the gathering of the ao puapua'a (puapua'a clouds) over the horizon at the bay, Honokalani. The "dense banks of rain clouds" settles upon Hinaikamalama like the weight of her sadness. The 'ōlelo no'eau, "kaka'i ka puapua'a, i ka mālie, he ino" speaks about the puapua'a clouds that gather in the calm, and indicate that bad weather is coming or is to be expected. These clouds gather over the bay, where so many fond memories of her love for her chief were made as well as foreshadow the emotions to come, which for Hinaikamalama, the end is not in sight.

'ŌN Text: "Kaka'i ka puapua'a i ka mālie, he 'ino.

Translation: When the piglets follow one after another in the calm, it is a sign of bad weather.

Kaona: When the clouds called ao puapua'a or pua'a "pig clouds", follow one after the other on the mountain top in calm weather, bad weather is to be expected."<sup>402</sup>

The second line confirms the bad weather to come as the darkness, the "unbroken, night-black" enveloping her emotions. As Hinaikamalama, wails out to her lover, her tears are

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<sup>401</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64. Translation by John Charlot. (My Addition)

<sup>402</sup> Pukui, *Ōlelo No'eau*, 153. ['ŌN, 1416]

found “i ka lele ae a ke ehukai o Hanualele [Nanualele](in the upflight of the sea spray of Hanualele [Nanualele].)”<sup>403</sup> The place name Nānu‘alele, refers to a point at Hana Bay on Maui. Stones from this site were carried to Honuaauka, located inland of Ka‘uiki, for the construction of “Pi‘i-lani-hale heiau being built by Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani.”<sup>404</sup> Ka‘uiki being the site where this section of the chapter of the mo‘olelo takes place. The literal translation of Nānu‘alele—the altar heaps—gives reference to both the original perception and traditional perception that her ‘āina will take care of and comfort Hinaikamalama. Nu‘a translates as “thick; piled one on top of the other, as leis, mats, or ocean swells” or in this case, a metaphorical connection between the sea spray in referring to the tears that lele or “jump and fly” layer upon layer “covering over the upland of The Bay of the Chief”, Honokalani.<sup>405</sup> The layers of traditional perception evident in this chapter of the mo‘olelo also provide insight into the ways place and environment informed memory and history. The puapua‘a clouds discussed earlier in their context of original perception are also analyzed here through the gaze of traditional perception through a play on the name of Kamapua‘a. Charlot asserts that, this multi-leveled word play “adds a note of erotic violence to the passion that blankets her.”<sup>406</sup> As, Kaiwiopole is the site where Kamapua‘a finally overtakes Pele after his pursuit where he “loses his hair at a point called Huluhulu-nui (Many bristles), [and] runs against the cliff at Pua‘a-ho‘oku‘i.”<sup>407</sup> Kamapua‘a as a wooer of Pele and as a demigod is famous for his

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<sup>403</sup> Hale‘ole, S. N., *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, trans. by Martha Warren Beckwith, 320-321. Translation by John Charlot. Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64. (My Addition) Haleole, S.N, *Ke Kaao O Laieikawai*, 205. <http://ulukau.org> (accessed November 28, 2017). The place name The translation and transcription of S.N. Haleole’s *Ke Kaao O Laieikawai* by Beckwith has the place name of Nanualele as Hanualele.

<sup>404</sup> Pukui, Elbert & Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 162. [Nānu‘alele]  
Nā-nu‘a-lele

Point at Hāna Bay, Maui. Stones were carried from here to Honua-uka, inland of Ka-‘uiki, for Pi‘i-lani-hale heiau being built by Kiha-a-Pi‘ilani. A surfing area here is known as Hāna. Lit., the altar heaps.

<sup>405</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 271-272 [nu‘a]; 201 [lele]; Charlot, John. *Chanting the Universe*, 64.

<sup>406</sup> Charlot, John. *Chanting the Universe*, 64.

<sup>407</sup> Beckwith, Martha Warren. *Hawaiian Mythology*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1970. p. 213

adventures and pursuits of women. Here, Hinaikamalama is drawing on the traditional perception of the Kamapua‘a and Pele tradition and her hopes of being pursued by her lover as alluded to by her dancing eyes, searching for and waiting for him to appear.

He malihini puka paha ko ka hale,  
Ke hulahula nei kuu maka.  
He maka uwe paha—e. Oia—e.

Maybe a stranger has appeared at the door  
of the house.  
My eyes dance about,  
Wailing eyes maybe. It is so.<sup>408</sup>

By building on the multi-leveled word play introduced by Charlot, that indicates the connection between the erotic violence to the passion that blankets Hinaikamalama I assert that additional references for Kaiwiopole add further layers of traditional perception and demonstrates the use of ‘āina in this interplay of memory and history. Two references mentioned in *Place Names of Hawaii* add to the motivation as to why Hinaikamalama leaves her home and Haneo‘o; both of which contain a level of transcendence.<sup>409</sup> The first being the place where Lonomuku departs to go and live on the moon and the second is the site where Pele's bones were left after the battle with; Nāmakaokaha‘i, her older sister.<sup>410</sup> In one version of this battle, Pele is destroyed, and her remaining bones laid at the site to be called Kaiwiopole in honor of this battle. It is here that Pele ascends to greater strength in her spirit

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<sup>408</sup> Hale‘ole, S. N. et al., *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*. 320-321. Translation by John Charlot. Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64.

<sup>409</sup> Pukui et al, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 41.

Hane-o‘o. Land section, gulch, and large fishpond reportedly built in 1808 near Hāna, Maui. A female mo‘o was sometimes seen here. Lit., mature soul.

<sup>410</sup> Pukui et al, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 71.

Another reference in *Place Names* for Kaiwiopole that is not discussed here is its use as a landmark for a fishing station. “This hill is the principal landmark for Po‘o, a fishing station off Kī-pahulu.”

form and moves to Kīlauea, on Hawai‘i Island along with her family. Her sister Nāmakaokaha‘i ascends to “Nuu-mea-lani, knowing that she could never again overcome the spirit of Pele, the goddess of fire.”<sup>411</sup> In the case, Pele’s transcendence allows for her to reemerge stronger than ever, which is an appropriate metaphor employed in the aftermath of a lost love. This multi-layered, multi-dimensional description shows the interconnection between the environment and the production of memory by what is experienced and expressed from a Hawaiian framework.

The seamless joining of physical description and symbolic meaning is symptomatic of the way the Hawaiian actually sees nature: not as bare fact, but as permeated by all the dimensions he senses in his existence.<sup>412</sup>

In this previous example as well as the second chant to be described shortly, it is evident that these place compositions can be analyzed further, increasing understanding of the layers of meaning and symbolism. However, from what is gleaned here it is clear that all of these descriptions are happening in an all-at-once manner, contextually privileging and highlighting certain aspects over others, but all layers available depending upon depth of knowledge. According to Charlot, these factors of place, traditional and original perception, and symbolized emotion “are clearly indivisible at both the comment of creation and comprehension.”<sup>413</sup> This convergence provides an understanding of the way that ‘āina informs memory and history.

The second chant employed by Charlot in *Chanting the Universe* to highlight this interplay between ‘āina and traditional and original perception comes from *Ka ‘ao no Pamano*

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<sup>411</sup> Westervelt, W. D. Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes (Mythology) Collected and Translated from the Hawaiian, 3-14.

<sup>412</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

<sup>413</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64-65.

(*Story of Pamano*).<sup>414</sup> Pamano is a famed chanter from Kahikinui who is adopted by the ali'i Kaiuli of Maui. Kaiuli places both his daughter, Keaka, and Pamano under restriction. When this restriction is broken, his death is deemed warranted by Kaiuli and Waipū, Pamano's relative who is serving as an advisor. While out for his daily surf at Mokulau, he is lured ashore by his uncle to drink 'awa. Although Pamano is wary of the situation, and intuitively feels that his uncle has ulterior motives, he gets out of the water and follows him. In the moments leading to his death; Pamano offers a chant at the top of a hill, Mahinui, meaning "great champion" or "great strength," Charlot highlights that Pamano is also at the "summit of his athletic and beautiful youth."<sup>415</sup>

A luna au o Mahinui,  
 Nana kuu maka i kai,  
 Me he kapa kea la i holo ia la,  
 Ke one i kai o Huleia,  
 I lawe hoi au i hula,  
 I makana olelo hoi na iala.<sup>416</sup>

I have reached the top of Mahinui  
 My face looks toward the sea  
 Like a white tapa cloth spread out there

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<sup>414</sup> Fornander, Abraham. *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Vol. V*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1918-1919, 136-153.

<sup>415</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 64. Pukui et al, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 138. Clark, John R. K. *Hawai'i place names: shores, beaches, and surf sites*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10388460>>.

<sup>416</sup> Fornander, Abraham. *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Vol. V*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1918-1919, 302-310. chant is on 309.

"As I stand on the heights of Mahinui,  
 And my eyes gaze seaward,  
 Like a white cloth that is spread out,  
 Is the sand there below at Huleia.  
 I have taken it up as a song  
 A gift of word for her."

The sand at the sea of Hulē‘ia  
 I have taken it up as a hula chant  
 As a gift of words for that one there.<sup>417</sup>

I further argue that the name Mahinui which is also associated with a legendary hero of O‘ahu offers further insight into the play between traditional and original perception.

According to *Place Names of Hawai‘i*, the land area Mahinui in Mōkapu, O‘ahu is a mountain, fishpond, and stream named for the warrior “who was defeated by Olomana, and whose body was cast from Mount Olomana to the present location of the mountain.”<sup>418</sup>

Although Mahinui is an esteemed warrior, he is defeated by Olomana, indicating a possible outcome to the upcoming situation. I argue further that Pamano’s arrival at the peak of the hill also signifies the peak of his life, foreshadowing his possible defeat in front of this mountain, or obstacle before him. As he takes these steps into the unknown, “he sees the shining landscape of his play [and is] suddenly charged with a new emotion to be expressed in song, dance and gift.”<sup>419</sup> Through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “aia i ka ‘ōpua ke ola: he ola nui, he ola laulā, he ola mahinui, he ola ki‘eki‘e,” translated as, “life is in the clouds: great life, broad life, deep life, elevated life.” In this ‘ōlelo no‘eau is further insight into the use of the place name, Mahinui, as great life, and the tradition that through the clouds a skilled kilokilo (seer) could see coming of prosperity or disaster.

‘ŌN text: Aia i ka ‘ōpua ke ola: he ola nui, he ola laulā, he ola mahinui, he ola ki‘eki‘e.

Translation: Life is in the clouds: great life, broad life, deep life, elevated life.

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<sup>417</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 63. Translation by John Charlot.

<sup>418</sup> Pukui et al, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 138.

<sup>419</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 63-64. (My addition)

Explanation: The reader of omens knows by their shape and color whether clouds promise rain and prosperity, or warn of disaster.<sup>420</sup>

As he looks upon the sea, he reminisces on the days spent surfing, the white sands and sea foam at Mokulau, Kaupō. This use of the sand and sea and Hulē‘ia as the “white tapa cloth spread out there” is a forshadowing of his death and burial.<sup>421</sup> When Pamano realizes that his intuition was correct and that he was poisoned by the ‘awa, he knows that death is imminent.

Another alternative of the fate of Mahinui is mentioned in Fornander’s, *Ka ‘ao no Palila*. In this ka‘ao Olomana, named for a legendary hero of Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu, is defeated by Palila and his body was split in two, half forming Mount Olomana and the other Mahinui at Mōkapu, O‘ahu. Here Olomana is a famous warrior noted for his great height. Even the Ali‘i of O‘ahu, Ahuapau (the king at that time) did not travel to the Ko‘olau side of the Island in fear of him and the vast lands “from Makapuu point to the Kaoio point, at Kualoa,” were considered sacred to Olomana, and avoided by the chiefs of O‘ahu.<sup>422</sup> However, Palila challenged Olomana and was victorious, his blow split his opponent in two, “one half, being the mountain which is Mahinui and leaving one half, the hill of Olomana, which stands at the same place to this day.”<sup>423</sup> ‘Āina base knowledge offers foundations for the interaction of traditional and original perception, which in this case adds another layer of depth to Pamano’s experience.

This practice is no mere literary device. The same content could not be expressed by other means. Rather, here as elsewhere, Hawaiian literature is the perfected medium of

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<sup>420</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No ‘eau*, 7.[‘ŌN, 42]

<sup>421</sup> Kanahele, “Introduction.” In Andrade, *Hā‘ena*, xiii.

This reference to Hulē‘ia is interesting because it is an atypical land division on the island of Kaua‘i that includes ahupua‘a from two moku. Not sure exactly why it would be referenced here or if there are any references to the island of Māui.

<sup>422</sup> Fornander, *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Vol. V.*, 144-147; 374.

<sup>423</sup> Fornander, *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore Vol. V.*, 374.

Hawaiian sensitivity and thought...Moreover, such descriptions reveal also how the Hawaiian views himself and his emotions: as one with the world around him. The Hawaiian maintains the integrity of what the Westerner is continually dividing and subdividing.<sup>424</sup>

The use of place compositions, such as the chants analyzed in the mo‘olelo of *Lā‘ieikawai* and *Ka‘ao no Pamano*, as well as the mo‘olelo themselves provide insight into the access that Hawaiian literature has in understanding memory in the Hawaiian worldview and the central role that ‘āina holds in this process. However, the format in which this description is employed creates a distance with true memory in which Pierre Nora states that any indication of “mediation” or “distance” that we create from true memory takes us from the realm of memory to that of history.<sup>425</sup>

### ***Between Memory and History***

The sun still rises over here.  
The last time my great, great, great,  
great, great, grandfather was out at Kumukahi,  
the sun was still rising in the same place.  
It is still the same.<sup>426</sup>

The transmission of memory and history is understood at a very universal level, however, it is the variations of what is passed down and how, that make each place unique; “to know what is worth knowing is to understand matters that lie at the very core of a culture.”<sup>427</sup> In the Hawaiian worldview, at the core requires an intimate dependency on the particularities of place. ‘Āina is seen as a primary and foundational influence of Hawaiian

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<sup>424</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 62.

<sup>425</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>426</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 28.

<sup>427</sup> Richie, Jane, and James Ritchie, “Socialization and Character Development,” In Howard, Alan and Robert Borofsky, 1989, *Developments in Polynesian Ethnology*, Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, p 115. In Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education*, xiv.



ways of knowing, both recognized and unrecognized.<sup>428</sup> According to Kapā Oliveira, place based knowledges can be rooted in the concepts of “ano o ka nohona” and “nā mea e ho‘opuni ana,” referring respectively to the “nature of one’s relationship to one’s surroundings or places” and to everything that “surrounds or encircles a person.”<sup>429</sup> These concept phrases are offered as translations for the word, “environment” in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*.<sup>430</sup> Oliveira states that a possible reason there was no direct term for “environment,” provides insight into the complex and intimate relationship classical Hawaiians (referred to as Kānaka in the writings of Oliveira) had with their surroundings; which “recognized the connection between the heavens, lands, and oceans, and how all three were interconnected and interdependent upon one another.”<sup>431</sup> Through the transmission of memory and history and analyzing them in terms of memory, history, memory-history and memory-practice, I provide insight into the critical role that ‘āina serves in these functions. [Thereby contributing to the understanding of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o.]

### *True Memory*

According to Nora, *milieux de mémoire* or environments of memory, is a phenomenon that is rapidly slipping from the present “into a historical past that is gone for good” as a result of the “general perception that anything and everything may disappear.”<sup>432</sup> This collapse of memory is ultimately caused by “a movement toward democratization and mass culture on a global scale.”<sup>433</sup> This fundamental need to crystalize memory, has in itself caused a break with *milieux de mémoire* or true memory. For Nora, French peasant culture

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<sup>428</sup> Pukui, Elbert; Charlot, 2005: 65. Charlot, 1983: 55-78; Charlot, 2005: xiv.

<sup>429</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 64.

<sup>430</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 437 (environment), 82 (ho‘opuni), 179 (kūlana), 269 (nohona), 355 (puni), 376 (wabi), 500 (place).

<sup>431</sup> Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 64.

<sup>432</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

<sup>433</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

was a repository of the collective memory as *milieux de mémoire* and the subsequent break from that through industrial growth marked a “fundamental collapse of memory” a break from the “remnant of experience” and the “repetition of the ancestral.”<sup>434</sup>

The remnant of experience still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, have been placed in the fundamentally historical sensibility. Self-consciousness emerges under the sign of that which has already happened, as the fulfillment of something always already begun. We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.<sup>435</sup>

This “remnant of experience” and the “repetition of the ancestral” is also discussed in Kanahele’s works in terms of “ancestral memory.” In the text *Ka Honua Ola*, she states that, “ancestral memories offer us many lifetimes of experience, love, pain, belief, understanding, and wisdom.”<sup>436</sup> Kanahele, elaborates that *Ka Honua Ola* can be employed as an access to the portal of ancestral memory, not that it is ancestral memory itself. Rather, the mele and chants provide the access point to the “expanse of ancestral memory,” which is built upon cultural information that “can—and should—be a foundation for diverse occupational lifestyles.”<sup>437</sup> To experience the things that our ancestors have for generations also connects us to the portal of ancestral memory. To feel the sun, the direction of the wind and rain all are representative of that generational continuity. Kanahele, touches upon the depth of this when she shares her genealogical relationship to Kumukahi, the easternmost point of Hawai‘i Island.

Know the cycles and the rhythms of our universe, whether the sun, the moon, the winds, the ocean currents, the could, or the

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<sup>434</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

<sup>435</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

<sup>436</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, xiii.

<sup>437</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, xiv.

rains. These things are still the same, they have not changed,  
 and they are not going to change. The sun still rises over here.  
 The last time my great, great, great, great, great, grandfather  
 was out at Kumukahi, the sun was still rising in the same place.  
 It is still the same.<sup>438</sup>

The delineations between ancestral memory and ancestral knowledge are not fully defined by Kanahele in the text discussed here, however she does lay a foundation to be employed in this analysis. It is clear that this engagement with the environment and Hawaiian literature such as the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka (employed in these respective text) are not in and of themselves “ancestral memory” but portals to “ancestral memory” and are production sites of “ancestral knowledge.” To provide more clarity to the delineation of both “ancestral knowledge” and “ancestral memory,” it is critical to express that these terms although interconnected are separate and that for Kanahele, ancestral knowledge is fundamental to accessing or understanding ancestral memory.

Entering the world of ancestral memory requires a certain mindset. Take time to enjoy and understand each phrase or line before going on. Remember, this gift took many lifetimes to wrap. Don’t be in a hurry to unwrap it and become frustrated in doing so. The meaning and force of the ancestral knowledge will unfold precept upon precept, and each has a code to inspire you on to the next level.<sup>439</sup>

Although not articulated specifically in the two aforementioned, text by Kanahele, it is clear that the ties of “ancestral knowledge” to “ancestral memory” creates a blurring of the boundaries between the two. Similarly, to the blurring of boundaries experienced by memory and history, and the inevitable and subsequent merger. However, rather than running parallel

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<sup>438</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 28.

<sup>439</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, xv.

to each other as did memory and history for Nora, I contend that these terms can be seen as being in a reciprocal relationship with one another.

As stated previously, *Ka Honua Ola*, is a text that provides a portal to “ancestral memory,” it is not “ancestral memory” itself. This text at a more complex level, can be viewed as an experience with “ancestral cadence,” that creates movement for the reader to reach a level of “heightened engagement with traditional Hawaiian perspectives and practices in caring for ka honua ola—the living earth.”<sup>440</sup> Explicating that the relationship with ka honua ola—the living earth, is central to living ancestral memory. Also, highlighting that there is a distinct difference between memory, more explicitly in terms of “environments of memory” or “ancestral memory,” and history; although heavily relied upon and employed when understanding them and living them, especially in the context of Hawai‘i.

The Primary source for all Hawaiian knowledge, including the mele in *Ka Honua Ola*, is the kūpuna, the ancestors and keepers of Native Hawaiian intellect from time immemorial.<sup>441</sup>

At a very basic level, the text *Ka Honua Ola*, consists of twentyfive mele and oli that have been selected from the Pele and Hi‘iaka literature, translated (by Kanahele) and accompanied by interpretations and access points to further inquiry. The mele and oli employed in this text are arranged as a resource for Hawaiian cultural information providing access points regarding a variety of subject areas including, genealogy, migration, protocol and ceremony. These mele and oli are an example of ancestral knowledge as it has been passed down from generation to generation.

In the case of Hawai‘i, historiography and research have been a great source and inspiration for academic scholarship and the revival of and connection to all aspects of

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<sup>440</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, xiv.

<sup>441</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, xiv.

tradition and culture. This history and tradition held in written or published forms, primarily through Hawaiian language newspapers and archives are highly coveted by researchers, academics and the general public in Hawai‘i today. Coupled with that is the fact that these records have only been made available to a wide audience due to recent digitization projects. There is also the matter of language; through the relatively recent revival of the Hawaiian language, this information is now accessible in a way that it has not been in over 100 years.

According to Noelani Arista, “the recognition of the scale of this inheritance has yet to permeate our communities and has just begun to make an impression on scholarly discourse.”<sup>442</sup> An inheritance of historical traditions that have been “passed down to us and to the world in oral, auditory, written, and published forms.”<sup>443</sup> History in this instance has served as an important tool to understand memory. However, Pierre Nora views history as incomplete, as a reconstruction of “what is no longer” simply a representation of the past rather than memory, which is a “perpetually active phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present.”<sup>444</sup>

Modern memory is, above all archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image. What began as writing ends as high fidelity and tape recording. The less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward sign—hence the obsession with archive that marks out age, attempting at once the complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Arista, “I ka mo‘olelo nō ke ola,” 15.

<sup>443</sup> Arista, “I ka mo‘olelo nō ke ola,” 15.

<sup>444</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>445</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

Nora asserts that any distance created between the ritual of repetition and the acts of meaning that are, *milieux de mémoire*, takes us from this realm of true memory to that of history. For Kanahele, research is primary for ancestral knowledge which thereby provides access to ancestral memory. Here, Kanahele expands the concept of research to include “knowing the cycles and rhythms of our universe;” feeling the wind and rain and so on; as well as through access to mele and oli, such as those found in literature of the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo. Archival research in this case expands to the physical environment and the place the surrounds and encircles.

***Content and Context: Mémoire, Mo‘olelo and Mana‘o***

Nora expounds on the terminology of memory and history with in the french language because they are both defined as *mémoire*. Provided here is a short treatment of the French and Hawaiian words for memory and history; these definitions provide insight to the nuances of their function in relation to each other within their respective context.<sup>446</sup> Also providing further clarity of their employment in this dissertation.

Nora articulates that in French, “only one word exists...to designate both lived history and the intellectual operation that render it intelligible,” further stating that it is “distinguished in German by *Geschichte* and *Historie*.”<sup>447</sup> This has been viewed as a possible “weakness of the language,” however, it is also an insight that this process “that is carrying us forward and or representation of that process are of the same kind.”<sup>448</sup>

Within the Hawaiian language, there are multiple terms for both memory and history. The term no‘ono‘o is the intellectual process of retrieving, thinking and reflecting on

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<sup>446</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>447</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>448</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

memory, which differs from the term mo‘olelo, translated as history. Mo‘olelo derives from the terms mo‘o and ‘ōlelo, meaning— succession of talk—as the transmission of knowledge was done through oral, not written forms in traditional Hawaiian society.<sup>449</sup> The term for memory is mana‘o, meaning “thought, idea, belief... intention, meaning” or “to think, estimate, anticipate,” all of these definitions connect to the concept of history as this intellectual process that orders and organizes our lived experiences. However, both mo‘olelo and mana‘o have molelo have qualities that reflect the “remnants of experience” and the “repetition of the ancestral.”

### ***Kuluma: Merging of Memory and History***

When thinking of the “remnant of experience” and the “repetition of the ancestral” described by Nora and “ancestral memory” as described by Kanahele the term that would be most comparable would be kuluma. The word kuluma, means to be “accustomed to, acquainted with, intimate with; customary.”<sup>450</sup> Often times the word, lōina would be used in this context as customs and traditions, which is expressed in its definition include, “rule, custom, manners, code, precept, law.”<sup>451</sup> Custom itself is translated as, “nā hana i kuluma, lōina, mea ma‘a,” or the behavior or performance of what one is accustomed to and intimate with becomes, the customs or manner of what is experienced.<sup>452</sup> That which one is “accustomed to, acquainted with, intimate with” till it is customary and habituated is equivalent to *milieux de mémoire* or environments of memory.

This break from true memory as *milieux de mémoire* or environments of memory has forced the emergence of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory. Nora states that, “this conquest

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<sup>449</sup> Pukui & Elbert. *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 271,236, 254.

<sup>450</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 181.

<sup>451</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 210.

<sup>452</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 423. My translation.

and dedication of memory by history has had the effect of a revelation, as if an ancient bond of identity had been broken and something had ended that we had experienced as self evident—the equation of memory and history.”<sup>453</sup> Although research and analysis of historical and archival documents, literatures including mele and mo‘olelo, as well as engaging ‘āina, all of which has been a key component to accessing ancestral knowledge, the historiography of culture and traditions create distance from true memory.

Our in interest in *lieux de mémoire* where memory crystallizes and secrets itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with a sense that memory has been torn—but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory.<sup>454</sup>

I agree with the Nora that these identified, *lieux de mémoire* serve as a double site, both “a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated in its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations.”<sup>455</sup> Nora concludes that “memory has never known more than two forms of legitimacy: historical and literary” which until modern society have “run parallel to each other but...always separately,” the boundaries between them being blurred forming new relationships with history.<sup>456</sup>

It [Historiography] operates primarily by introducing doubt, by running a knife between the tree of memory and the bark of history. That we study the historiography of the French Revolution, that we reconstitute its myths and interpretations,

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<sup>453</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>454</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.

<sup>455</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 24.

<sup>456</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 24.



implies that we no longer unquestioningly identify with its heritage. To interrogate a tradition, venerable though it may be is no longer to pass it on intact.<sup>457</sup>

While this is evident in the resurgence of historiography in all aspects of cultural revival in Hawai‘i, including the political, I would like to take a closer look at cultural practice, specifically the practice of hula discussed by Kanahele as another form of the legitimacy of memory, as memory-practice. Through the practice of culture such as hula, can true environments of memory be experienced? Does perception and experience balance the incessant reliance on historiography?

*“Nā hana i kuluma, loina, mea ma ‘a’”: Ancestral Memory and Custom*<sup>458</sup>

Pualani Kanahele, employs ancestral memory and ancestral knowledge through the art and practice of hula grounding her understandings of “native intelligences and experiences” and her place in this place. Through the practice and custom of hula, I argue that the convergence of memory-history and memory-practice give insights into the understandings of “environments of memory,” from a Hawaiian worldview.

In the foreword to *Ka Honua Ola*, Taupōri Tangarō ask the question, “how does one mobilize the memory of past experience and bring forward to define Hawaiian culture?” His answer is to practice things Hawaiian; such as chanting, dance, speaking the Hawaiian language and the preparation of Hawaiian food. He also stresses the importance of connecting the next generation to their ancestral memory and to reestablish meaning within these things and actions.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 10.

<sup>458</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 423. [custom]

<sup>459</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, ix-xii.

As a practitioner, hula takes Kanahele from the cycle and rhythm of “this island, these islands...to the world, [and] to the universe.”<sup>460</sup> Through this universal practice of dance she contemplates the importance of teaching and learning, family, genealogy and tradition. Though hula, there are connections to a universal platform of dance as well as an explicit worldview through the specificities of the Hawaiian form of dance. Kanahele was reminded of this dynamic between the similarities and differences of dance after a performance in Washington DC. In a conversation with a woman from Jamaica, the uniqueness of the hand motions in hula was brought to her attention.

In hula, we use our hands to provide visualization of something we are expressing, and we use our feet to keep rhythm. We use the hands to actually shape the elements of what we are dancing about that the *mele* (poetry) tells us about. We use our eyes to focus in different directions and we listen to the rhythm of the *ipu* (gourd) and *pahu* (drum). We’re using many, many different parts of our body when we’re dancing. Very few people in the world do that. And that to me is a big deal.<sup>461</sup>

The practice and art of hula reach far beyond the confines of entertainment, and include a myriad of purposes. Kanahele expresses that a few of these purposes range from education and identity formation, to a vehicle of memory; a “vehicle, very capable of pitching you into another world, into that event for which the mele was composed.”<sup>462</sup> As articulated in the quote above, there are many different body parts in motion, responding to the an array of instruments including the leo (voice), arguably the most important instrument in hula, all coming together to share a mo‘olelo. The transmission of this memory and history through the body and the voice add an element of simultaneous continuity and discontinuity.

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<sup>460</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 21.

<sup>461</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 25.

<sup>462</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 26.

The memory imbedded in hula therefore, can be seen is an example of “life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting.”<sup>463</sup> The permanent evolution of hula and culture in general is subject to this idea of a natural remembering and forgetting, “unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived.”<sup>464</sup>

The practice and art of hula, and arguably cultural practice in general becomes a vehicle in which to engage both the methodological and theoretical understandings of both sites of memory and environments of memory. Through the analysis here, it is also evident that this process is centered around the understanding and relationship of place and to place, embodied in Kanahele’s statement, “if you do hula, you belong to the universe.”<sup>465</sup>

Hula has a primal cadence that reminds you that you belong to the cycle of this island, these islands. It eventually takes you from these islands to the world, to the universe. If you do hula, you belong to the universe. We have to pay attention to our Hawaiian native intelligence and experiences. We should be able to look for them, define them—because nothing is lost. In fact, we still have a lot of knowledge that was left to us by our ancestors. It’s still there; we just have to go and look for it.

That’s what we are all about—research.<sup>466</sup>

*Ka Honua Ola* provides access points or nodes discussing genealogy, migration and the balance of life, land and people through the analysis of mele and oli. These mele and oil are used to glean information regarding practice. In chapter three of the text, *Mele Komo*:

*Protocol and Entrance*, the author uses oli to discuss five different practices and protocols for

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<sup>463</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>464</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 8.

<sup>465</sup> Kanahele, “I Am This Land, And This Land Is Me,” 27.

<sup>466</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 27.

approaching Pele, the deity of fire and the crater at Kīlauea. These protocol, range from an errand of importance “E nihi ka hele” to a formal approach with “E ho‘i e komo i kou hale.”<sup>467</sup> All of the protocol discussed by Kanahele here, although specific to Pele, “were—and are—in place to make a person aware of one’s environment.”<sup>468</sup>

As mentioned previously, the chant “E nihi ka hele” tells how to behave when sent on an errand of importance. This oli is chanted by Hi‘iakaikapoli at the beginning of her journey to bring Pele’s kāne, Lohi‘au, from Kaua‘i to Hawai‘i island. This chant is directed to Wahine‘ōma‘o, who would soon be her traveling companion on this journey and is seen as an analysis for “how to behave when sent on an errand of importance.”<sup>469</sup> The first two lines “E nihi ka hele i ka uka o Puna, Mai ‘ako i ka pua —*Walk carefully in the upland trail of Puna, Don’t pick the flowers*” speaks of pua (flowers) as possible distractions that may be out there when approaching your destination and the importance of focus in attaining what you are meant to do.<sup>470</sup>

The chant simple says that when traveling to Kīlauea using the upland trail of Puna, don’t be diverted by flowers or other distractions. Don’t leave the main trail or become unfocused, or you will lose your way. In case of an accident, it would be difficult to recover. The ending of the chant implies that if you complete your mission as prescribed, you will be rewarded—in this case with the fiery display of Pele.<sup>471</sup>

Similarly, the oli “Mele no Pele” also speaks of the protocol in approaching the crater, however, this oli is used specifically to put “the mind at ease when approaching the crater

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<sup>467</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57-81.

<sup>468</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57.

<sup>469</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57-61.

<sup>470</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 58-59.

<sup>471</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57.

without an offering” for the gift of the voice is acceptable “when one has nothing to give except knowledge of Pele...the region and praise of the deity.”<sup>472</sup> This gift of the voice being appropriate as a gift, which differs from with the protocol in the context of a prayer.<sup>473</sup> This oli indicates that the chanter has an intimate knowledge of the boundaries and perimeters of the volcano displayed in the familiarity and “nuances of Pele’s lifestyle.”<sup>474</sup> To be so familiar and knowledgeable of an area and the protocol required displays a reliance on ancestral memory.

Similarly, the oli, “‘O Pele ‘o ke kumu of Kahiki” provides contextual knowledge for the way that ancestral knowledge through practice informs ancestral memory. This chant for Kāne and Haumea, both deity in the Hawaiian pantheon, Haumea also being the mother of Pele in many genealogical histories including the one used by the author in *Ka Honua Ola*; provide an understanding of the importance and acknowledgment of rank. This chant explains that, Kāne and Haumea, have the ability to approach the crater “without offering in hand or voice of praise,” because of their role “as primary creators of nature.”<sup>475</sup>

The negotiation between memory, history and practice are evident in the works discussed here by Kanahele. Furthermore, the approach to research, including both the archival and historical literature; as well as interaction with the environment coupled with cultural practice provide a framework to understand the relationship between ancestral knowledge and ancestral memory. Through practice, in this case hula and the various protocol used in approaching Pele the deity of fire, and the crater at Kīlauea, and time spent in reflection with ‘āina together with the textual analysis by cultural practitioners creates a

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<sup>472</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57.

<sup>473</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 69.

<sup>474</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57-69.

<sup>475</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 57.

process by which to access and be accessed by ancestral knowledge and live ancestral memory.

### ***Conclusion***

By analyzing this convergence of and interaction between memory and history with ‘āina as the piko I have created a space to articulate an understanding of ‘āina kūlana pāno‘ono‘o or ‘āina as a remembering function. This analysis, provides a framework from which to understand, ‘āina as the agent and container of memory and a valuable way to engage history. Through the employment of traditional and original perception in Hawaiian literary forms this attention and connection to place in Hawaiian tradition exemplify the permeation of the environment with human perception, thought and practice. The intersections and movements between what Nora terms, “environments of memory” and “sites of memory;” ‘āina functions as a *lieux de mémoire*, as a double site, both “a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated in its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations.”<sup>476</sup> And as a *milieux de mémoire* and environment of memory where ancestral memory resides through territorial continuity. ‘Āina facilitates the component of true memory or ancestral memory, always allowing for both fixity and movement.

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<sup>476</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 24.

## Chapter 4: The Hawaiian Political Imaginary

### Through Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole

'O Puna lehua i ka hāpapa  
 (Puna with red lehua on the plain)  
 I 'ula i ka papa ka lehua o Puna  
 (The foundation is reddened by these lehua of Puna)  
 Ke kui 'ia maila e nā wahine o ka Lua ē  
 (The women of the crater string lei)  
 Mai ka Lua au i hele mai nei, mai Kīlauea  
 (From the crater I've come, from Kīlauea)  
 Aloha Kīlauea, ka 'āina a ke aloha.  
 (Cherished is Kīlauea, the beloved land.<sup>477</sup>

When Pele traverses the expanse of the ocean from Kahiki with members of her  
 'ohana in search of their new home in Hawai'i, she begins with Ka'ula, Ni'ihau then travels  
 to Kaua'i Island, eventually making her way through out the entire archipelago until their  
 subsequent settlement at Kīlauea, Hawai'i Island.<sup>478</sup> As the search for the appropriate place

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<sup>477</sup> Manu, "Pelekeahi'āloa," September 23, 1899, I. Translated from Kapihenui, "He Moololo no Hiiakaikapoliopole," May 15, 1861, 4. In Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 194-195.

<sup>478</sup> There are numerous versions of the migration of Pele and her 'ohana to Hawai'i. This particular migration comes from *Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole* by Ho'oulumāhiehie which is the primary text that I employ through out this dissertation. The reliance on this particular text was expounded upon in chapter chapter 1. In this version of the mo'olelo, I suggest that Ka'ula could be used as a place holder for the larger northwest Hawaiian Islands, Papahānaumokuakea even though it is southwest of Ni'ihau, but rather thought of in terms of being beyond the inhabited chain. Pukui et. al, *Place Names of Hawai'i*, 93. "Ka'ula; Rocky islet (540 feet elevation) 22 miles southwest of Ni'ihau. The island is a tuff cone built on the submerged eroded remnant of an ancient shield volcano (Macdonald and Abbott 21, 199, 400, 401). It abounds with seabirds and is said to be named for one—which one is not known. A heiau called Pōhaku-pio (captured stone) is said to have been on the western side. The shark god Kū-hai-moana, a brother of Pele, lived here. The domain of the hero Ka-welo extended from Hanalei to Ka'ula: 'Ai lā 'oe i ka manu o Ka'ula (For. Sel. 97), you then rule the birds of Ka'ula. (See PE, puaea; PH 177; RC 80.)

for Pele and her family to reside continues, she establishes a physical connection throughout the archipelago through the place names of Kīlauea that are left behind in her path. Kīlauea, Kaua‘i is the last place Pele attempts to make her home on this island and finds that it is too shallow to be a sufficient dwelling.<sup>479</sup> Her retinue continues across the Ka‘ie‘iewaho Channel to the moku of O‘ahu, where she “began to dig down at Kīlauea,<sup>480</sup> where that little cove is, just a bit to the north of Keawa‘ula Bay, and because the land there was shallow, she came to sea water, so this voyaging woman departed.”<sup>481</sup> Pele mā (and her ‘ohana) continue on to O‘ahu before proceeding to Moloka‘i, Kaho‘olawe and Maui, where seawater was reached even at the majestic Haleakalā. Eventually, Pele and her ‘ohana reach Hawai‘i Island where “the famed queen of the fire realm,” carves out the crater of Mālama and continues until reaching their current home, Mauiola at Kīlauea, Hawai‘i.<sup>482</sup>

This queen’s desires were not fulfilled here, so she dug out the  
crater of Kalaunui‘ōhua. Since it was shallow, she went on to

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<sup>479</sup> Soehren, Lloyd J. *Hawaiian place names Inoa ‘āina*. [Hawai‘i]: Lloyd J. Soehren, 2004. <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: Kaua‘i Ahupuaa: Kilauea Feature: ahupua‘a Comments: Returned by Kekauonohi, retained by aupuni at the Mahele. Lexicology: kī-lau-ea. PEM: spewing, much spreading (referring to volcanic eruptions). Source: MB 30,229; IN 44; USGS 1963. Quadrangle: 30-04 North: 127,000 East: 530,000 Catalog Number: 452.06.000 <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?>

<sup>480</sup> Soehren, 2004: <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: O‘ahu Ahupuaa: Keawaula Feature: cave Comments: "Site 184. Poha cave, in Keawaula... An opening or exit to Poha cave, called Kilawea [sic], is located under the water at the end of the reef off Keawaula. The cave is also said to be connected with the cave in Kaaawa variously called Pohokaina, Pohukaina, and Pahukaina." Lexicology: kī-lau-ea. PEM: spewing, much spreading. Source: McAllister 1933:124. Quadrangle: 80-03 North: East: Catalog Number: 181.01.004 <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?>

<sup>481</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 2.

<sup>482</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 1. Soehren, 2004: <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: Hawai‘i: Ka‘ū Ahupuaa: Keauhou Feature: pit crater Comments: Elev. <3917 ft. Lexicology: kī-lau-ea iki. PEM: little Kī-lau-ea. Source: USGS 1981. Quadrangle: 10-53 North: 212,000 East: 587,000 Catalog Number: 399.74.046 <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?> Soehren, 2004: <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: Hawai‘i: Ka‘ū Ahupuaa: Keauhou Feature: crater Comments: The summit crater of Kilauea volcano. Elev. about 3600 ft. on floor. Lexicology: kī-lau-ea. PEM: spewing, much spreading (referring to volcanic eruptions). Source: USGS 1963. Quadrangle: 10-52 North: 210,000 East: 577,000 Catalog Number: 399.74.037 <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?>



create 'Ōhuanui Crater, then Kīlauea Iki, and from there she carved out the great pit of Kīlauea which exists today, along with the crater of Moku'āweoweo. Kīlauea became the home of Pele and her younger sisters, the Hi'iaka women. Lonomakua, one of Pele's brothers, was the lord of the great fires in Kīlauea, and it could be mentioned at this point that he was the angel [‘ānela] of the deep crater of Kīlauea, the one who held the key to fire and heat.<sup>483</sup>

The search to find a permanent home appears to be somewhat arduous and it is noted that many places were explored on Hawai'i island were found to be insufficient before Kīlauea in the ahupua'a of Keauhou was chosen. Two additional place names that reference Kīlauea, that are not specifically mentioned in the mo'olelo can be found on the island of Lāna'i<sup>484</sup> and in Kohala, Hawai'i, in *Ulukau: Place Names Database*.<sup>485</sup> The travel from island to island, asserting dominion over the 'āina, and specifically through the place name of Kīlauea, provides a continuum that connects the Hawaiian Islands both genealogically, ontologically and epistemologically which have positioned this mo'olelo as a central piko of inquiry in this dissertation and specifically this chapter.

This mo'olelo is relatable and pertinent to all of Hawai'i as Ho'omanawanui asserts, “the heart of the Pele literature is—literately and figuratively—the 'āina, which is also why

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<sup>483</sup> Ho'oulu māhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopole*, 3. (My addition, comparison from; Ho'oulu māhiehie, *Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole*, 3.

<sup>484</sup> Soehren, 2004: <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: Lana'i Ahupuaa: Kaunolu Feature: place Comments: "Plateau land." Lexicology: kī-lau-ea. PEM: spewing, much spreading (referring to volcanic eruptions). Source: Emory 1924:33. Quadrangle: 40-00 North: 161,000 East: 399,000 Catalog Number: 249.06.035

<sup>485</sup> Soehren, 2004: <<http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?l=en>>. Island: Hawai'i: Kohala Ahupuaa: Waiapuka Feature: hill Comments: Elev. about 1000 ft. Lexicology: pu'u kī-lau-ea. Source: USGS 1957. Quadrangle: 10-03 North: 495,000 East: 414,700 Catalog Number: 352.06 <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?>

the mo‘olelo is so political, not just entertaining, beautiful, or metaphoric.”<sup>486</sup> Another primary reason is that through Kīlauea, there is a “visible and tangible” connection to Pele, Hi‘iaka and their ‘ohana across time.<sup>487</sup> In this chapter I argue that the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka contribute to the Hawaiian political imaginary through a continual connection to Kīlauea. I argue that the extent to which the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo engage ‘āina through Kīlauea, spans the pre-national, national and present occupation period of Hawai‘i’s history as a nationalistic text, and aspects of the ways in which Kīlauea is actualized through the mo‘olelo contribute to Hawaiian national consciousness and identity. As previously discussed in the introduction, and expressed so eloquently by the newspaper editor and political statesmen, John Bush in the foreword to the 1893 printing, the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka serves “as a foundation to perpetuate the love and desire of the people for aloha ‘āina based on the stirring nature of the mo‘olelo and mele about their birth sands.”<sup>488</sup> As a vehicle of aloha ‘āina, I assert that the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka is a vital component of the perpetuation of the Hawaiian political imaginary, especially post-1893. According to Smith, the collective destiny of a cultural unit is not limited to a uniformity of elements from generation to generation but rather is tied “to a sense of continuity of the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit” to shared memories of earlier events and histories and the ways that they are employed by future generations to inform the “collective destiny of the unit and its culture.”<sup>489</sup> This is especially important when traumatic developments occur that

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<sup>486</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 411.

<sup>487</sup> Kanahele & Wise, *Ka Honua Ola*, ii.

<sup>488</sup> *Ke Aloha Aina*, 6 January 1893; Bush, “Olelo Hoakaka,” January 6, 1893, 1. In Silva, *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, 4.

<sup>489</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 25.

affect the natural cultural patterns such as the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government in 1893. The question that Smith poses is to ask “how far such developments disrupt or alter the fundamental patterns of myth, symbol, memory and value that bind successive generations of members together...and serve as ‘cultural markers’ of boundary regulations.”<sup>490</sup> By using the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka as a cultural marker, I am further contributing to previous scholarship that positions this mo‘olelo as a source of aloha ‘āina that is instilled generation after generation.

***Singing (to and through) the ‘Āina of Kīlauea*<sup>491</sup>**

Beginning with the aforementioned migration from Kahiki to the establishment of the Pele families new home at Kīlauea the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka creates a genealogical connection to the ‘āina as it creates ‘āina. Furthermore, with the the travels of Pele to Kaua‘i where she meets Lohi‘au and the subsequent journey of her favored sister Hi‘iaka through out the entire Hawaiian archipelago to bring him back as a husband for Pele and her sisters reestablishes their genealogical connection to the ‘āina as well as intergrates the conection with the people to the Pele family as akua as well as the entire archipelago as one political unit.

The political nature of this mo‘olelo, as Ho‘omanawanui asserts, is through the authority over these genealogies, “Pele and her ‘ohana alternatively create and destroy it [‘āina, and] assert their authority over it and over competing genealogies.”<sup>492</sup> They not only

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<sup>490</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 25.

<sup>491</sup> This heading is a direct reference to the chapter 5 title in *The Power of the Steel -Tipped Pen* by Noenoe K. Silva.

<sup>492</sup> Kanahele & Wise, *Ka Honua Ola*, ii. Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 12. (My addition)

create ‘āina, Pele and her ‘ohana are created by the ‘āina themselves as Pele and her siblings are born of the various parts of their mother Haumea, who is also Earth Mother.<sup>493</sup>

Pelehonuamea is born from the womb through the normal birthing process. Her mother, Haumea, is the Earth Mother, whose children are born from different parts of her body. The birthplace of each child is indicative of the abilities and skills he or she is to develop. Haumea is two entities in one: the human mother who gives birth to children, and the nurturing female Earth. Because Pele is born from the womb, her primary duty is to reenter the womb of the Earth and be reborn as molten lava in the form of new land.<sup>494</sup>

Hi‘iakaikapoliopole, is born “ma nā poho lima ma ke ‘ano me he hua moa ala, *in the left palm in the shape of an egg*,” and is connected to the birth of new vegetation on the land.<sup>495</sup> The relationship between Pele and Hi‘iaka is intertwined and reciprocal in nature as Pele creates new land and Hi‘iaka creates new vegetation, this closeness is further represented in the mo‘olelo through, Hi‘iakaikapoli being Pele’s favored sister. This is represented through the meaning of her name, “Hi‘iaka in the bosom of Pele,” and the history that “during the embryonic stage of Hi‘iaka’s life, as an egg child, Pele...kept her close to her bosom to keep her warm until the female child was born.”<sup>496</sup>

This connection to ‘āina as genealogy is also reiterated in the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka as they travel throughout the archipelago, as is especially evident during the journey

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<sup>493</sup> Kanahele, *Holo Mai Pele*, viii.

<sup>494</sup> Kanahele, *Holo Mai Pele*, viii.

<sup>495</sup> Kanahele, *Holo Mai Pele*, xi-xii.

<sup>496</sup> Kanahele, *Holo Mai Pele*, xi-xii.

of Hi‘iaka to bring Lohi‘au back to Kīlauea as the husband of her sister Pele. In the book, *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, Silva asserts that Hi‘iaka uses kau, or sacred chants, as an affectionate way to greet and interact with ‘āina, as well as the persons and dieties such as mo‘o, that she comes across on her journey.<sup>497</sup>

Because Hi‘iaka, her sister Pele, and her lover Hōpoe are actually ‘āina themselves, as well as acting as human charaters and dieteis, all simultaneously, Hi‘iaka must always greet landforms and other dieties with chants of affection; another related reason is that they are part of the same ‘ohana. The landforms are her sisters, borhters, cousins, parents, and grandparents. Tho treat them with respect and affection is her Kuleana. The mele often silutaniously function to express Hi‘iaka’s thoughts and emotions.<sup>498</sup>

The vast geography of Hawai‘i experienced by Pele and Hi‘iaka, both through the establishment of their home at Kīlauea and their journeys that connect them from one end of the archipelago to the other provide a continuum of not only the aesthetic and spiritual nature of aloha ‘āina but the ways that the aesthetic and spiritual is intertwined into the physical and the resulting implications for understanding the effects of this mo‘olelo on the Hawaiian political imaginary.

### ***Telling Mo‘olelo; Telling the Nature and Story of a People***

According to Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui, who completed the first in depth study of the various versions of this mo‘olelo, she states that the repository of oli, mele, hula and

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<sup>497</sup> Silva, *Power of the Steel-Tippen Pen*, 161.

<sup>498</sup> Silva, *Power of the Steel-Tippen Pen*, 161.

mo‘olelo of both oral and written accounts constituting “the “hula Pele” and “Pele literature”...significantly outnumber mo‘olelo for all other Hawaiian gods.”<sup>499</sup> In Ho‘omanawanui’s analysis of the “Mo‘okū‘auhau of the Pele and Hi‘iaka Mo‘olelo Text,” she compares the various versions of this mo‘olelo —nineteen in her dissertation and twenty-one in her subsequent book, *Voices of Fire*— in order to reveal “the relationship between the texts in both content and context.”<sup>500</sup> The publications of the versions listed begin with Hauola in 1860 to the recent transcription and translation of Ho‘oulumāhiehie’s 1905-1906 version completed by Nogelmeier et.al., in 2006, spanning 146 years of publication.<sup>501</sup> Here I review previous scholarship, primarily drawing from the work of Ho‘omanawanui, Silva and Charlot to highlight the publication history including continuity, duration and political intention, to reiterate the importance of the Pele and Hi‘iaka literature base as a nationalistic text. I focus this review two strands of the publication history, or what Ho‘omanawanui refers to as mo‘o ‘ōlelo, the “Kapihenui, 1861” version and the “Ka‘ili, 1883” versions of the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo as they span the longest printing continuity and duration. By viewing this mo‘olelo as national literature and the continuity of a national narrative it directly corresponds to the role of this mo‘olelo in the continuity of the Hawaiian political imaginary.

The first complete version of the Pele and Hi‘iaka saga was published in 1861–1862 by Kapihenui in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.<sup>502</sup> This strand of the mo‘olelo spanned 55 years and included two subsequent printings, including a newspaper serial printing by Pa‘aluhi and

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<sup>499</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 1.

<sup>500</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 12. Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51.

<sup>501</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 12.

<sup>502</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 55. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76. Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51.

Bush in 1893, the book *Pele and Hi'iaka* by Nathaniel Emerson, and also includes an unpublished manuscript with no credited author.<sup>503</sup> In first printing of this version in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, is significant as this newspaper was established by “maka‘āinana, and ali‘i together,” and according to Silva, created a space in print media for “speaking subjects proud of their Kanaka ways of life and traditions.”<sup>504</sup> Furthermore, Silva stresses the important connection between the writers, editors and owners of the newspapers, and their role as political actors.<sup>505</sup> The political nature of this printing of the mo‘olelo was also expressed by Charlot as he asserts that, this also caused public controversy in which “the nationalist, nativist tendency of the paper was made explicit “and can therefore be considered “part of the newspapers politico-cultural program.”<sup>506</sup>

The preservation of the mo‘olelo was important to Kapihenui’s contemporaries as evidenced by Kānepu‘u’s letter to the editor in October 1862. Silva highlights the words of Kānepu‘u, who “predicted that future generations would want these stories, and that the knowledge of them would disappear along with the people if it were not consciously preserved.”<sup>507</sup> Kānepu‘u insisted that the full version be printed and that edits for the sake of saving time or space should be curtailed, saying “How will the generation after obtain the remainder [which is being left out], when they wish to see it? We will be gone[;] Kau the mother of [the author] M.G. Kapihenui will be gone, Generations of Hawaiian in 1870, and

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<sup>503</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, “Pele’s Appeal,” 12. Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51.

<sup>504</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 55.

<sup>505</sup> Silva, *Pele, Hi‘iaka and Haumea*, 160. See also, Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 166-167.

<sup>506</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 61-62.

<sup>507</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76.

1880, and 1890 will want this.”<sup>508</sup> This excerpt provides further evidence for continuity of a national narrative through the relevancy of the text. Kānepu‘u was confident that future generations would value this knowledge as he did. Or at the very least he was convinced that future generations should have access to this knowledge.

The Kapihenui (1861–1862) publication would also serve as the basis of a second printing by John Bush and Pa‘aluhi that ran in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* from 5 January of 1893 to 12 July 1893. As previously discussed, this publication demonstrates the importance Hawaiian nationals such as Pa‘aluhi and Bush placed in the political function of this mo‘olelo by specifically connecting the intentions of their printing with the capacity of the mo‘olelo to “instill aloha ‘āina in the young people.”<sup>509</sup> The decision by Bush and Pa‘aluhi to print this particular mo‘olelo was a means to continue to grow that desire and love for the land, the people and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Not only is the introduction to the printing of this mo‘olelo explicitly political by encouraging aloha ‘āina, the owners, editors and writers of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, (similar to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*) were also political actors, chief among them being John Bush. John Bush is considered by many scholars to be a powerful political figure during this time. Bush founded *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, which “ran from August 19, 1889, to April 13, 1896” and was the editor in chief in 1891.”<sup>510</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa further asserts that the founding of the newspaper by Bush was a critical aspect of the newspapers importance but the supporters of the paper also give credence to the political nature of the paper stating that, “among the newspapers loyal supporters...were Lili‘uokalani, sister of the king

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<sup>508</sup> *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 30 October 1862. In Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76. Translation by Silva.

<sup>509</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 155.

<sup>510</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 167. For more on the political life of John Bush see Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.



[Kalākaua was king as the time the paper started in 1889], and J. Nawahī and E. Lilikalani, two Hawaiians prominent in political circles, the latter being King Kalākaua's genealogist."<sup>511</sup>

Considering the political turmoil in the Hawaiian Kingdom following the 1887 Bayonet constitution and the fact that this printing would start on January 5, 1893 only days before the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government on January 17, 1893 speaks to the political importance of the mo'olelo. This printing further impresses upon their audience the central role that mo'olelo have in perpetuating important values such as aloha 'āina, and further confirms the mo'olelo of Pele and Hi'iaka as a nationalistic text.

The third printing of the Kapihenui (1861) version was in 1915, as it becomes the basis for Nathaniel B. Emerson's version, *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth From Hawaii*.<sup>512</sup> Emerson is the son of missionary descendants and one of the conspiritors in the 1887 coup de 'etat, he is listed as one of the chief writers of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution.<sup>513</sup> In the preface of the publication, Emerson erroneously claims that prior to this printing, there was no one capable of "voicing the great epic into one song."<sup>514</sup>

Hawaii rejoiced in a Kamehameha, who, with a strong hand,  
welded its discordant political elements into one body and  
made of it a nation. But it was denied a Homer capable of  
voicing its greatest epic in one song. The myth of the volcanic  
queen, like every other important Hawaiian myth, has been  
handled by many poets and raconteurs, each from his own point

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<sup>511</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, *Kamapua'a*, xvii. Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 167. (My addition)

<sup>512</sup> Charlot, "Pele and Hi'iaka," 55-75. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76. Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51.

<sup>513</sup> Forbes, David W. *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780-1900. Vol. 4 Vol. 4*. Honolulu [u.a.]: Univ. of Hawai'i Press [u.a.], 2003. P. 232

<sup>514</sup> Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka*, v-vi.

of view, influenced, no doubt, by local environment; but there never stood forth one singer with the supreme power to symphonies the jarring notes and combine them into one concordant whole. This fact is a tribute to the independent attitude of Hawaii's geographical units as well as to its scattered minstrelsy.<sup>515</sup>

The multiple full-length publications discussed by Ho'omanawanui, and the publication evidence provided by scholars such as Charlot, Silva and Kanahele thoroughly refute Emerson's claim for the lack of a Homer. Furthermore, Ho'omanawanui provides evidence that these multiple versions are important in Hawaiian epistemology as it validates the various perspectives, philosophies and genealogies attached to the Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo.<sup>516</sup>

Each stand is mo'o 'ōlelo, literary or textual successions that represent different Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo. Kanahele suggest that one reason multiple mo'okū'auhau are provided for Pele is because each emphasized different philosophies of creation and perhaps time periods of geological events. Kimura suggest that early Hawaiian writers were simply 'not satisfied with a single version...[writing] down regional or period variants.'<sup>517</sup>

Scholars have linked Emerson's version to Kapihenui (1861) for which he does not attribute credit and Silva provides further analysis, disputing the claim that Emerson should be credited "with saving this knowledge from disappearance."<sup>518</sup> Rather, credit should be given

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<sup>515</sup> Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka*, v-vi.

<sup>516</sup> Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 50.

<sup>517</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola* and Kimura, "Native Hawaiian Culture." In Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 50.

<sup>518</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76. See also, Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*. and Charlot, "Pele and Hi'iaka."

to all those who published the multifaceted versions and components of the Pele and Hi'iaka literature and to those who have safeguarded their oral history. The intentions of Emerson to reduce Hawaiian culture to a heterogeneous aftermath of American imperialism is clear, as evidenced in the dedication of his book, "To Her Majesty Liliuokalani and Her Beloved Hawaiian People."<sup>519</sup> However, I argue that the printing history of this version of the mo'olelo provides a continuity of publication that spans 55 years and keeps the mo'olelo of Pele and Hi'iaka in the forefront of the Hawaiian political imaginary.

Another line of succession stemming from the "oral mo'olelo piko" that Ho'omanawanui has mapped out in *Voices of Fire*, is the version published by Ka'ili in 1883, which is the basis for future publications in 1893, 1905, 1906, 1908-1911, 1928, 2001 and most recently in 2006, spanning over one hundred and twenty years of publication.<sup>520</sup> Emma Ka'ilikapulono Metcalf Beckly Nakuina (1847-1929) published this 1883 version, titled "A Hawaiian Legend by a Hawaiian Native," under the pen name Ka'ili. This mo'olelo was printed in English in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which was edited and owned by Walter Murray Gibson from 1880-1887.<sup>521</sup> According to Ho'omanawanui, Nakuina is "the only identified writer who was a woman, and the only 'Ōiwi writer who was publishing extensively in English at the time."<sup>522</sup> Although it is unclear as to why Ka'ili chose to print in English, Ho'omanawanui inquires as to possible motives such as appealing to a bilingual Hawaiian audience or educating haole settlers.<sup>523</sup> Charlot asserts that Hawaiians had begun to

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<sup>519</sup> Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka*.

<sup>520</sup> Ho'omanawanui, "Pele's Appeal," 11. Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51.

<sup>521</sup> Chapin, *Shaping History*, 77; 82.

<sup>522</sup> Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 100.

<sup>523</sup> Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 100-101.

incorporate and synthesize Hawaiian arts into Western forms of literature such as King Lunalilo's Hawaiian poetry that was influenced by Shakespearean soliloquy and S.N. Hale'ole's "monumental *Laie I Ka Wai* express[ing] a Hawaiian legend in the forms of a nineteenth century newspaper serial."<sup>524</sup> These examples highlight the appropriation of print media and foreign literary forms such as newspaper serials, to express Hawaiian thought and culture, the choice to print in English could have been an extension of this thinking.

Ka'ili did however provide reasoning for the printing, which included the importance of mo'olelo as the predecessors of modern history of a country and to preserve an accurate portrayal of "what life was in those ancient days among the people who originated it."<sup>525</sup>

Legends of all countries are the predecessors of history. At a time when no authentic narrative of events existed in Hawaii actual events were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth suffering certain changes, and with the lapse of time, being exaggerated and exalted into the dignity of something supernatural. But still, after passing through all the change, which must inevitably be made in a record that is kept solely in the mind and handed down from remote ages for many generations orally there will be something of truth, a shadow of fact, in the traditional story, which may aid the student to form tolerably correct ideas of what life was in those ancient days among the people who originated it. As a legend of ancient Hawaii "Hiiaka" has a value which students of ancient Hawaiian history will most highly appreciate, although as an interesting and will written narrative it will be highly

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<sup>524</sup> Charlot, *Chanting the Universe*, 16.

<sup>525</sup> "The Legend of Hiiaka," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 13, 1883. In Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 180.

prized by the general reader. Form another point of view the story has also an attraction; it was written by a Hawaiian native, and to some extent shows the degree of culture that has given the Hawaii of to-day a high rank among the civilized peoples of the earth.<sup>526</sup>

As mentioned previously Poepoe, would also later share and express this position that mo‘olelo preserve the story of a people.<sup>527</sup> Although Poepoe takes a much stronger approach than Nakuina does here it is clear that the connection to this mo‘olelo generation and generation is an important point for both authors. For Ka‘ili, this mo‘olelo contributes to the collective cultural identity of Hawai‘i from a time when “actual events were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth” and although it may have “suffer[ed] certain changes,” the traditional story “may aid the student to form tolerably correct ideas of what life was in those ancient days among the people who originated it” through to the time when Ka‘ili is writing in the 1880’s and to an “extent shows the degree of culture that has given the Hawaii of to-day a high rank among the civilized peoples of the earth.”<sup>528</sup> The continual printing of the mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka provides for a continuity of collective cultural identity by connecting generation after generation to shared memories of this mo‘olelo, even if they are seen or deployed in different ways, more importantly is that the shared memories are “entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of the unit and its culture.”<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> “The Legend of Hiiaka,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 13, 1883. In Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 179-180.

<sup>527</sup> Poepoe, “Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko.” In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 255. (Translation by Silva, Authors additons.).

<sup>528</sup> “The Legend of Hiiaka,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 13, 1883. In Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 179-180.

<sup>529</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 25.

“The Legend of Hi‘iaka,” by Ka‘ili was printed while Walter Murray Gibson was editor and owner of *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which he purchased in September of 1880. Gibson had been an editor previously for the *Nu Hou*, which began in 1872, for which he was well received in part due to the information he printed on the protection of Pearl Harbor.<sup>530</sup> Gibson also as a highly esteemed government official in Kalākaua’s cabinet from 1883-1887. Although the *PCA* is categorized by Ho‘omanawanui and Chapin as being an “establishment settler newspaper that was anti-Hawaiian government.”<sup>531</sup> I note that it is important to examine the change in ownership from it’s beginnings with Henry M. Whitney, son of New England missionaries to the Hawaiian Gazette Company in 1888 and point out that there were critical years where Hawaiian nationals attempted to use the *PCA* as an establishment newspaper for the Hawaiian Kingdom Government.

Whitney had sold the *PCA* to James H. Black and William Auld on September 1, 1870. When Auld retired on June 1, 1875, Black became the sole owner. Thereafter the *PCA* experienced many ownership changes; owners included Henry L. Sheldon in 1876, Walter Murray Gibson on September 1, 1880, the Hawaiian Gazette Company (publisher of the newspaper *Hawaiian Gazette*) in 1888, and Lorrin Andrews Thurston in 1898. On March 31, 1921 Thurston renamed the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* the *Honolulu*

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<sup>530</sup> Adler and Kamins, “The Political Debut of Walter Murry Gibson,” 110.

<sup>531</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 180. See also Chapin, *Shaping History*, 2-3.

*Advertiser*, which eventually became known as one of the oldest newspapers published west of the Rockies.<sup>532</sup>

The PCA was owned from 1880-1888 by Walter Murray Gibson and was secured in part by a \$5,000 government loan approved by John Bush, the newly appointed Minister of the Interior in exchange for public printing.<sup>533</sup> According to Adler and Kamins, this loan was made in return for Gibson's promise to "support the Hawaiian Government and its policy and pursue a line of discussion in said newspaper best calculated to the carry out the measures of His Majesty's Government."<sup>534</sup> The *PCA* under the direction of Gibson became an outlet to curtail opposition against the Hawaiian Government policies as well as promote Hawaiian national identity with such printings as the "The Legend of Hi'iaka," by Ka'ili.

This publication by Ka'ili would later be printed in 'ōlelo Hawai'i in 1893 by John Bush and Pa'aluhī, who would use both the Ka'ili (1883) and the Kapihenui (1861) versions.<sup>535</sup> All subsequent printings post 1898 and until 1928 would be done in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, making an important political statement as the Hawaiian language was threatened by law in 1896 and continually threatened by the process of Americanization. Thus all subsequent printings in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, not only continued the connection to the Hawaiian language they also continued national narratives. Poepoe, who is connected to the 1905 & 1906 printings and explicitly credited for the 1908-1911 version of this mo'olelo disputes the

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<sup>532</sup> "About The Pacific Commercial Advertiser"

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015418/>, (accessed November 28, 2017).

<sup>533</sup> Chapin, *Shaping History*, 77.

<sup>534</sup> Adler and Kamins, "The Political Debut of Walter Murry Gibson," 110.

<sup>535</sup> Ho'omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 100.

beliefs that these histories were “dark works, ignorant, [or] superstitious,” but rather were relevant to preserve and uphold the knowledge of Hawaiian elders.<sup>536</sup>

The translation and transcription of Ho‘oulumāhiehie’s *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopele* by Puakea Nogelmeier et.al in 2006 bridged a 78 year gap since the Desha version in 1924-1928. This 2006 printing and a less expansive version, *Holo Mai Pele*, published in 2001 by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation were the first from this larger genealogy of the mo‘olelo, to be done in English, since it was originally published in 1883 by Ka‘ili.<sup>537</sup> These two versions were also the first bilingual printings of this mo‘olelo. According to Nogelmeier, the 2006 publication is a consolidation of multiple sources, but republication and translation of this rendition is based primarily on the version credited to Ho‘oulumāhiehie. This version first appeared in *Hawaii Aloha* then finished in *Ka Na‘i Aupuni*. The entire mo‘olelo was printed weekly and ran in both newspapers for a total of sixteen months, when it closed on 30 Novemaba 1906. A subsequent publication in 1908 in *Kuokoa Home Rula* (10 Januari 1908 to 20 Januari 1911), that appears to be a slightly expanded version were referred to.<sup>538</sup>

Charlot indicates that the Pele literature holds an interesting position in Hawaiian thinking because it possesses distinctive themes and characteristics that display both the mainstream narrative as well as a counter narrative and the mo‘olelo as a whole can be seen as indicative of the development of a national literature and national consciousness.<sup>539</sup>

Asserting that because “Pele was still experienced as a living and powerful god, she could

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<sup>536</sup> Poepoe, “Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko.” In Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō,” 255. (Translation by Silva).

<sup>537</sup> Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 51, 100.

<sup>538</sup> Hooulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele*, Editorial Notes and Acknowledgements.

<sup>539</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka.”



personify those elements of Hawaiian life that refused to die. She could challenge the foreign views — both missionary and anthropological — of the value and character of the Hawaiian Past. Today more than ever, “Pele remains in the wild.”<sup>540</sup> This inherent theme of a counter narrative while maintaining specifically Hawaiian cultural context, may be one of the primary reasons this mo‘olelo was so widely published through out Hawaiian history and specifically at times of political turmoil.<sup>541</sup>

Until recent years, this extensive Hawaiian language literature base including Pele and Hi‘iaka has become limited in its accessibility due to the 1893 illegal overthrow which cut off the next generation from ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i through such laws as Act 57 passed in 1896 which made English the medium of education. Despite the forced assimilation and inculcation that occurred, the Hawaiian language is currently in a state of revitalization. Through the work of recent scholarship and technology this level of accessibility has changed dramatically and allowed for new printings of the mo‘olelo based on the original mo‘olelo piko such as the translation and transcription of Ho‘oulumāhiehie’s *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole* by Puakea Nogelmeier et.al in 2006 and a less expansive version, *Holo Mai Pele*, published in 2001 by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation. Both of these versions are bilingual printings to allow for greater accessibility and for facilitation in the transition to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a predominant language in Hawai‘i. Charlot recalls a time when these newspapers were primarily unindexed and when materials were gathered through extensive reading and “often by happy accident”. He acknowledges the work that Mary Kawena Pukui collected (and in

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<sup>540</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 58.

<sup>541</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 58.

some instances translated), which was carried on by Rubellite Kawena Johnson; and furthered by scholars such as “Kris Kikuchi, Ku‘ualoha Meyer, Puakea Nogelmeier, Noenoe Silva, Liana Wong, among others who labored through the multiple newspaper series and sources to bring together the various versions of this mo‘olelo.”<sup>542</sup> This accomplishment, though overwhelming to fathom was much needed and is and will continue to be a great benefit to future researchers and scholars.

Silva urges that the need for the research and translation of political writing are much needed, and if sources are continually read “solely for ethnological detail the Kanaka Maoli of the nineteenth century remain the still and silent objects of ethnology.”<sup>543</sup> The publication and use of this particular body of knowledge, despite these challenges and adversities speaks to the importance of these materials for understanding Hawaiian national narratives. Furthermore, by employing the use of the mo‘okū‘auhau that Ho‘omanawanui and other scholars provide, it is possible to see the continuity of this mo‘olelo and the ways that it is connected to Hawai‘i’s national narrative across time.

### ***Hi‘iaka Receives Nā Mana ‘Āina of Kīlauea***

The symbiotic relationship between Pele and Hi‘iaka and their ‘ohan as they are formed by ‘āina while simultaneously forming ‘āina can be analyzed through nā mana ‘āina. Mana defined as “power possessed by man, but originating in the super-natural, and thus always imbued with a mystic quality,” māna, as “trait or characteristic” as defined in *Nānā I*

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<sup>542</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 55.

<sup>543</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 5.

*Ke Kumu VI* and lastly mānā as “dry; desert.”<sup>544</sup> An alternative way of viewing these definitions of nā mana ‘āina can be seen as the—inherence of mana ‘āina—being shaped and molded by mānā ‘āina—to be embodied by mānā ‘āina.<sup>545</sup>

Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is the younger sister of the akua Pele and is the youngest of the Hi‘iaka sisters. She is the sister of Pele’s own bosom, and because of this, they have a closeness likened to that of a mother and daughter as well as sisters. Pele reminds her that, “it was our mother who gave birth to you, but it was I who cared for you here in my bosom as we traveled to and throughout these expansive lands of Hawai’i.”<sup>546</sup>

You were here in my bosom while you were just a babe, and it  
was here that you formed, and turned, and crawled, and grew;  
here in my bosom. And it is for that reason you are called  
Hi‘iaka-ikapoliopole, Hi‘iaka-in-the-bosom-of-Pele.<sup>547</sup>

It is perhaps because of this closeness that Hi‘iaka was the only one to satisfy the yearning of her eldest sister and bring Lohi‘auipo, her kāne back to Kīlauea. This quest is not one to be taken lightly and it is made clear that Hi‘iaka will encounter situations of extreme danger and possibly death. This connection between sisters during Hi‘iaka’s formative years created the space for an exchange of mana (power), mānā (traits, characteristics) and mānā (visions)<sup>548</sup> between these two sisters.

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<sup>544</sup> Pukui, Haertig & Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, 149.

<sup>545</sup> Mana and mānā seem to be more generally used and information is easier to find in a variety of sources; the last one might prove to be more specific.

<sup>546</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 31.

<sup>547</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 31.

<sup>548</sup> The concept of mānā ‘āina is the least developed of the three ‘āina concepts I am discussing here. I place this definition here hesitantly, and you will see in the analysis of my paper how this concept is being expanded.

In preparation of Hi‘iaka’s journey that will take her and her companions through out the entire archipelago. Pele’s directives for this huaka‘i are clear; Hi‘iaka is to travel to Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i—search out Lohi‘auipo and return with him—and she is to respect the Kai‘okia edict that Pele has placed upon him. Hi‘iakaikapoli will be given all the powers Pele herself enjoys, including the hand of Kīlauea and the pā‘ū of Halema‘uma‘u. Specific details are give by Pele that are necessary to fulfill this request; including the direction of travel, how to treat those she encounters and the powers that she will have access to on her journey.

It is true that the road you take is full of peril, and perseverance is the only thing that will get you through it. Go along the windward side, and on your return, when you land on O‘ahu, come back along the lee. A most important thing for you to do is to show respect for the great as well as the humble; and as for those that mean to do you harm, use your judgment, for you travel with the supernatural hand that we share, Kīlauea. And you must maintain the sanctity of your body. The skirt that you go with is your defense, which will turn your foes to naught. So tomorrow you shall take your leave.<sup>549</sup>

Hi‘iaka is given two manifestations of ‘āina to guide her through her journey: the supernatural hand of Kīlauea and pā‘ūohi‘iaka which is made of kahihikolo and pala‘ā<sup>550</sup> fern which posses the properties of the fires of Kīlauea. These two objects which are given to

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<sup>549</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 33.

<sup>550</sup> Pala‘ā (*Sphenomeris chinensis* or lace fern) is indigenous to Hawai‘i. **Habitat** *S. chinensis* tolerates a wide variety of environments, from exposed road cuts to closed, wet forests from 0–1220 m (Valiers 1995:56–57). Soil should be well-drained and moist; medium to high light (Hoshizaki & Moran 2002:400). **Medicines:** For stomach disorders and lepo pa‘a (constipation) the pala‘ā is made into tea and mixed with ko‘oko‘olau (*Bidens* spp.) and other ingedients (Chun 1998:47). **Non Medicinal Uses:** Fronds twined together with maile as an offering to the gods (Valier 1995:5) and a red dye is obtained from the old fronds (Krauss 1993:67). <http://data.bishopmuseum.org/ethnobotanydb/ethnobotany.php?b=d&ID=palaa>

Hi‘iaka, can be seen an embodiment of the ‘āina of Kīlauea. When Hi‘iaka is given the pā‘ū, Pele offers a prayer to Kauilanuimaka’ehaikalani.

Kauilanui‘oakaikalani  
 Flashing on the land  
 The land trembles  
 The land holds fast  
 5. Great land of Kāne  
 The land splashed with the rains of Kāne  
 The great land of Kāne reclines  
 The land of Kāne is made to float  
 The land of Kāne sways  
 10. It wakes and rises  
 And the earthquake rumbles  
 The tremors reverberate  
 Kapōhaku makes the land quake  
 Kamohoali‘i, the god of this crater  
 15. Ka‘ulaokeahi, cling to the skirt of my precious one  
 My prized lei, Kūka‘iaka, Leleiaka  
 My dear adornment, Hi‘iaka o f my own heart  
 Beloved sister, go forth.

‘O Kauilanui‘oakaikalani  
 ‘Anapa i ka honua  
 Naue ka honua  
 Pa‘a mai ka honua  
 5. Honua nui a Kāne  
 ‘O ka honua i kapakapa ua a Kāne  
 Moea ka honua nui a Kāne  
 A ho‘olewa ka honua a Kāne

10. A ala a kū  
 A naue ke ōla‘i  
 Hāku‘i ke ōla‘i  
 Naue ka honua iā Kapōhaku  
 Kamohoali‘i, ke akua i ka lua nei lā ē  
 15. ‘O Ka‘ulaokeahi lā, pili i ka pā‘ū o ku‘u lei  
 ‘O ku‘u lei, ‘o Kūka‘iaka, ‘o Leleiaka  
 ‘O ku‘u lei, ‘o Hi‘iakaiku‘upoli nei lā ē  
 Aloha ana ka pōki‘i, e hele.<sup>551</sup>

When this pule is complete, Hi‘iaka's body takes on the qualities of the ‘āina Kīlauea, her body is “enveloped in a rosy glow, as if engulfed in flames” and the ‘āina physically responds with an earthquake.<sup>552</sup> In this oli are also references to the journey itself, such as place names of Kaua‘i like Naue, Hā‘ena; or the reference of moea as “to go straight” indicating the importance of Pele’s command to return without delay. The example highlighted from this pule and ceremony that prepares Hi‘iaka for this journey display the aesthetic and spiritual functions of aloha ‘āina that are continuously at play in this mo‘olelo. By using place names from Hawai‘i Island to Kaua‘i, the reader is able to see a foreshadowing of the vast geography covered within the text and the spiritual guidance that both Pele, their ancestors and their Akua will provide throughout the journey.

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<sup>551</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 34. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 34.

<sup>552</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 34.

*A i ka Lima Auane‘i o ke Kaikua‘ana o Kākou, ‘o ia ‘o Kīlauea.*

*Kīlauea, The Hand of Our Elder, Will Hold On To Us.*<sup>553</sup>

Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea is shared between various family members of the Pele ‘ohana in this mo‘olelo and provides insight into the ways that Kīlauea inspires ‘āina relationships. Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea is given to Hi‘iaka at the start of the journey and is employed in a variety of ways until it is taken away from Hi‘iaka by Pele on O‘ahu. Several meiwī mo‘okalaleo (traditional Hawaiian poetic devices) such as, ho‘okanaka (personification), ho‘okalakupua (magical elements), kaona (veiled, poetic meaning), kohu (imagery), inoa kanaka (personal names), inoa ‘āina/pana (place names), inoa kapakapa (nicknames) are employed in order to provide a context for understanding ways that ‘āina is employed in this mo‘olelo.<sup>554</sup> Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea as a personae within the mo‘olelo of *KMH* has a very unique positionality, it is not quite human, as it is only a hand, yet is identified specifically with the human body. It carries the name of Kīlauea, the ‘āina where Pele, Hi‘iaka and their family reside and also the source of power in Hawai‘i, the source that creates ‘āina, yet it has the ability to move, it is not a fixed location. Deleuze explains conceptual personae as “something else, somewhat mysterious, that appears from time to time or that shows through and seems to have a hazy existence halfway between concept and preconceptual plane, passing from one to the other.”<sup>555</sup> I argue that by analyzing this relationship between ka lima o Kīlauea and Pele, Hi‘iaka and their ‘ohana, as a literary technique and conceptual personae, it will contribute to

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<sup>553</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 53. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 55.

<sup>554</sup> Parreira identifies twenty-four literary devices or “ethno-poetic devices” called meiwī in fifteen categories that express both oral and literary expression. Parreira, “He Ha‘iōlelo Ku‘una,” xv, xvi, 324-325. In Ho‘omanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 42.

<sup>555</sup> Deleuze, *What is Philosophy*, 62.

a greater understanding of aloha ‘āina discourse and the ways that this mo‘olelo and specifically the connection to Kīlauea, narrates the nation.

As mentioned previously, when Hi‘iaka begins her journey, Pele impresses upon her that one of the most important things to remember is “to show respect for the great as well as the humble; and as for those that mean to do you harm, use your judgment” for she is in a position of power, she travels “me ka lima o kāua, ‘o ia ‘o Kīlauea--with the supernatural hand that we share, Kīlauea.”<sup>556</sup> Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea, is given the inoa kanaka or the personal names of Pele and Hi‘iaka and throughout the mo‘olelo and the personal name attached shows the power from which the hand is connected. The first time ka lima ‘o Kīlauea is deployed it is to help save a young girl by placing her spirit back into the body via her feet. Shortly after her departure from Halema‘uma‘u, Hi‘iaka employs ka lima o Kīlauea when inspired to heal Mālamānuī. Hi‘iaka, uses “ka lima lauahi kēia o laua ‘o Pele, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kīlauea-- supernatural hand of hers and Pele's, Kīlauea” to catch “the girl’s spirit, which was sitting upon the mats.”<sup>557</sup>

Once she had the spirit held fast in the palm of her hand,  
 Hi‘iaka stood up, walked to the feet of the girl, and lightly  
 struck the arches of her feet. Then she drove the spirit into the  
 girl through the hollow of her left foot, and she turned and  
 spoke to the girl's father, “Hand me a bowl of water and go  
 fetch an ‘ape leaf.” Hi‘iaka received these things, and arranged

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<sup>556</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 33. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 33.

<sup>557</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 33. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 42.



the container of water at the girl's feet. She spread the 'ape leaf beneath her soles, and then intoned [a] pule.<sup>558</sup>

The lima o Kīlauea in this usage is describes in its supernatural sense, through the embodiment of the lava of Kīlauea, through lauahi, or “to destroy, as by fire or lava flow,” it further implies, that when used in reference to lima (hand), the movement is quick and skillfull.<sup>559</sup> Ka lima 'o Kīlauea takes on the mana (power) of Kīlauea through the be seen as the meiwi or literary device of ho'okanaka (personification), with the personification of Pele, through the use of lauahi. I assert that the meiwi of ho'okanaka in this case can also been seen as ho'o'āina or the embodiment of the 'āina Kīlauea and can be added to the list of possible meiwi.

As the mo'olelo continues ka lima 'o Kīlauea is used to keep Hi'iaka and her companions afloat in the future battle against the mo'o Pana'ewa. At Pana'ewa which will be discussed more in the next section, ka lima 'o Kīlauea is connected to Pele as the elder to not only Hi'iaka but also her companions as demonstrated in the phrase; “and Kīlauea, the hand of our elder, will hold on to us”—“a i ka lima auane'i o ke kaikua'ana o kakou, 'o ia 'o Kīlauea.”<sup>560</sup> In this same section of the mo'olelo ka lima 'o Kīlauea is solely connected to Hi'iaka when she says the phrase; “for the power of my hand, Kīlauea,”—“eia ku'u lima, 'o Kīlauea.”<sup>561</sup> We also see this fluidity of power between Pele, Hi'iaka, and their 'ohana including Kīlauea in the next appearance of ka lima 'o Kīlauea at Waiākea.

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<sup>558</sup> Ho'oulu māhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopēle*, 42.

<sup>559</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, [lauahi].

<sup>560</sup> Ho'oulu māhiehie, *Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopēle*, 53. Ho'oulu māhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopēle*, 55.

<sup>561</sup> Ho'oulu māhiehie, *Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopēle*, 57. Ho'oulu māhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopēle*, 59.

At Waiākea, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea shields and protects Hi‘iaka and her companions and allows them to escape against the perils released by Pā‘ie‘ie and her mo‘o companions. Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea, called upon as the hand of Pele, “the supernatural hand of our sister,”— “i ka lima o ke kaikua‘ana o kākou i luna iā Kīlauea,” is also referred to as simply as “the magical hand, Kīlauea,”—“‘o Kīlauea lima.”<sup>562</sup>

Hi‘iaka turned and said to her friend, “Hold on to my skirt, and follow right behind me. I shall thrust Kīlauea, the supernatural hand of our sister, upward to give us cover. They will topple the trees of the forest to try and kill us, but the magical hand, Kīlauea, will be a shield allowing us to escape, and you, Pa‘uopala‘ā, should crawl along ahead in your fern form as a path for us.” At that point the hand, Kīlauea, rose up and swayed in the air like a kahili, to ward off the debris flying through the air.<sup>563</sup>

Here it is important to notice that in some cases, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea is not linked to any person and rather draws its mana from Kīlauea as is the case here. Throughout the translation of the mo‘olelo, ka lima o Kīlauea is referred to as the magical hand of Kīlauea. In the ‘olelo Hawai‘i volume of *KMH*, there are no descriptives used that could be translated as magical, however the hand of Kīlauea could be explained within the context of the meiwi, ho‘okalakupua or a poetice device that has magical elements. As ka lima ‘o Kīlauea shields and protects Hi‘iaka, Waihine‘ōma‘o, Pā‘ūopala‘ā, Hi‘iaka uses the power of her pā‘ū to destroy Pā‘ie‘ie and her mo‘o companions. This is the first point in the mo‘olelo where

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<sup>562</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 59. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 61, 62.

<sup>563</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 59. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 61.

Hi‘iaka uses her pā‘ū to destroy her enemies as she will continue to do throughout the mo‘olelo. Although, the power of Hi‘iaka’s pā‘ū is not discussed here, it is interesting to note that as the mo‘olelo continues Hi‘iaka’s power grows and her pā‘ū is a symbol of that power. As mentioned previously, her pā‘ū was given to her by Pele the day that she left on her journey along with ka lima ‘o Kīlauea.

As in this instance at Waiākea, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea will similarly be directed by Pele and Hi‘iaka together and by the ‘āina of Kīlauea, in the next appearance in the mo‘olelo at Punahoa, Hilo. However in this next section ka lima ‘o Kīlauea not only acts on behalf of Hi‘iaka and her companions, it also acts in order to help the people of Punahoa. While at Punahoa, Hi‘iaka engages in a surfing contest with the chief, also called Punahoa. During the contest, Punahoa comes into trouble as she is thrown from her board into the surf where a man-eating shark lurks. Hi‘iaka “thrust[s] out the hand of power, Kīlauea, under the control of her and her elder sister,”—“ka lima lauahi o lāua me ke kaikua‘ana, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kīlauea” in order to save the chief.<sup>564</sup> After saving the chief Punahoa, “the powerful hand, Kīlauea,”—“ua lima ku‘i nei ‘o Kilauea,” saves the people from future harm by destroying the man-eating shark tossing it on the land and turning it into a boulder.<sup>565</sup>

Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea protects Hi‘iaka and her companions through the power of the ‘āina Kīlauea as well as Pele and their ‘ohana. Pele, Hi‘iaka and Kīlauea all have power to protect the people around them and continues to do so while it is a conceptual personae in the mo‘olelo. Through an analysis of encounters in the mo‘olelo at Pana‘ewa I further analyze

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<sup>564</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 83. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 87.

<sup>565</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 83. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 89.

the this relationship between ka lima o Kīlauea and Pele, Hi‘iaka and their ‘ohana, to stress the ways it contributes to a greater understanding of aloha ‘āina discourse.

*Hi‘iaka at Pana‘ewa*

As Hi‘iaka and her companion Wahine‘ōma‘o, and kahu, Pā‘ū‘opala‘ā, came to the boarder of ‘Ōla‘a, Wahine‘ōma‘o warns against choosing the path through Pana‘ewa; “the path way of life is for us to go down this way to Hā‘ena, and on from there to Waiākea. The path of death is this one that would take us in to the lehua forest.”<sup>566</sup> The parents of Wahine‘ōma‘o had warned her that the lands here are sacred to the mo‘o Pana‘ewa, and no man or woman can enter without consent. Hi‘iaka does not heed the warning and quickly replies that, they shall take the path of death, and they begin their descent toward the lehua groves.

Hi‘iaka mā (and company) are quickly noticed by the sentries Kūkukukui and Kapuakoai‘a, who report the news to their patron immediately. Ho‘oulumāhiehie pauses here and offers additional information from another source, Mr. S. L. Peleiholani, who “previously explained to the writer that they they [Kūkukukui and Kapuakoai‘a] were birds...and they were messengers of Pana‘ewa.”<sup>567</sup> This would have been a familiar reference to the people as Pana‘ewa was famous for “its lehua forests that sheltered the hone-sucking birds” as reflected through the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “nā manu leo nui o Pana‘ewa (loud-voiced birds of Pana‘ewa).”

‘ŌN text: Nā manu leo nui o Pana‘ewa.

Translation: Loud-voiced birds of Pana‘ewa.

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<sup>566</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 51.

<sup>567</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 51.

Explanation: Loud talkers. Pana‘ewa, Hilo, was famous for its lehua forests that sheltered the honey-sucking birds. Here people went to gather lehua and maile.<sup>568</sup>

As the mo‘olelo continues, Pana‘ewa is furious, that these “stone-eating, land-eating, lehua grove-eating women” would challenge her, saying “my kapu, my sacred law is firmly set...I would never allow them to enter here into Pana‘ewa.”<sup>569</sup> As these words barely escape her mouth, Hi‘iaka’s voice is heard, carrying a chant to Pana‘ewa, requesting that she grant them the path way.

‘O Pana‘ewa nui moku lehua  
 ‘Ōhi‘a kupu hāo‘eo‘e  
 I ka ua lehua ‘ula  
 Hō mai ana ho‘i ua alanui  
 No;u nei, no Hi‘iakaikapoli  
 E aloha mai! E uē kāua.<sup>570</sup>

Great Pana‘ewa of the lehua groves  
 ‘Ōhi‘a that reach upward in spikes  
 In the red lehua rain  
 Grant us the pathway  
 For me, indeed, Hi‘iakaikapoli  
 Offer us welcome! Let us share our tears of joy.<sup>571</sup>

The response that Hi‘iaka mā receives is “mean and merciless” and Wahine‘ōma‘o urges Hi‘iaka to travel the seaward path, however Hi‘iaka continues on the path she originally intended. When Pana‘ewa heard this, she ordered her guards Kūkulukukui and Kapuakoai‘a

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<sup>568</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, 247. [‘ŌN, 2264]

<sup>569</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 52.

<sup>570</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 54.

<sup>571</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 52.

to decapitate the flying spirits of that area in order to flood the pathways they traveled with their blood. They were not traveling long before they heard the cries of the spirits of Pana‘ewa that Hi‘iaka had warned her traveling companions about and let them know the explicit instructions that they were to follow in order to survive.

Listen, hold fast to my skirt. Hold on tight, and don’t let your grip loosen, or you will be swept away by the tide of blood from Pana‘ewa. Wherever I go, you must come along. We will know defeat in the dawn hours, but Pana‘ewa will lose in the twilight of evening. As we go along, if you hear the roar of voices echoing through Pana‘ewa forest, recognize that the red tide of the mo‘o, Pana‘ewa, has begun to flow. This will temper my skirt, once it’s been soaked in the red waters.<sup>572</sup>

Hi‘iaka assured her companion that they would be safe, that “Kilauea, the hand of our elder, will hold on to us. No extent of flood can wash us to sea, as Pana‘ewa would wish.

Pana‘ewa’s red tide could drown us here in the forest, but our chins will float.”<sup>573</sup> Just as soon as Hi‘iaka reassured them, the blood flowed and quickly began to rise, and then so did the fear in Wahine‘ōma‘o, as tears began to run down her cheeks. The blood had now reached a height that their bodies began to float, but their chins were kept above the surface by “their magical hand, Kilauea, [that] crept along on the ground below as a tether,” to the ‘āina so that they would not float away and meet their demise<sup>574</sup>. Hi‘iaka at this time also offers a chant to call upon, her elder sister, Pele, her brothers and her ancestors through the well known migration chant of the Pele clan from Kahiki, through Polapola or Borabora.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>572</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 53.

<sup>573</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 53.

<sup>574</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 53. [my addition]

<sup>575</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 35-39. Pukui & Korn, *The Echo of Our Song*, 52-55.

Mai Kahiki ka wahine, 'o Pele  
 Mai ka 'āina i Polapola  
 Mai ka pūnohu a Kāne,  
 Mai ke ao lalapa i ka lani,  
 5. Mai ka 'ōpū lā i Kahiki,  
 Lapakū i Hawai'i ka wahine, 'o Pele  
 Kālai i ka wa'a, 'o Honuaiākea  
 Kō wa'a, e Kamohoali'i  
 Hoa mai ka moku a pa'a  
 10. Ua oki ka wa'a o ke kaua

From Kahiki came the woman, Pele  
 From the lands of Polapola  
 From the rising red mist of Kāne  
 From the flashing clouds in the heavens  
 5. From the center there in Kahiki  
 The woman, Pele, is a fire for Hawai'i  
 Carve the canoe, Honuaiākea  
 Your canoe, Kamohoali'i  
 Lash it to the island to beheld fast  
 The canoe of the goddess is completed<sup>576</sup>

She also calls on the mana “from the center there in Kahiki where Pele continues to draw a source of energy. Acknowledging this journey that is confirmed through the approval of the god Kāne through such manifestations as the pūnohu 'ula, the red rising mist or rainbow and the ao lalapa i ka lani, the flashing clouds.<sup>577</sup> Hi'iaka continues to call on the akua, Kū, Lono,

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<sup>576</sup> Ho'oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole*, 55. Ho'oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopole*, 55. (Kau Helu 'Umikumamākahi A Hi'iaka [47])

<sup>577</sup> Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola*, 35-39. Pukui & Korn, *The Echo of Our Song*, 52-55.

Nu‘akea (diety of wisdom), Haumea and the list continues exhibiting the connections of mana ‘āina through the mo‘okū‘auhau of her ‘ohana and her ‘āina and the intersections between them. As Hi‘iaka continues the oli, the attributes of Kahiki have shaped and formed Pele are called upon.

25. Huahua‘i i kahiki, lapa‘ula‘ula;

‘O Pele ke kumu o Kahiki;

Nāna i ho‘olele ka pōhaku kē;

Kani kē, ku‘i kē Kahiki

Ka moku newa‘ula<sup>578</sup>

25. Kahiki erupts,

blazing redness;

Pele is Kahiki’s own source;

Who caused rumbling stones to fly;

Sounding with a crash,

Kahiki booms;

The isle is red as a war club<sup>579</sup>

Pele hears the prayer of her favored younger sister and her request for to send fire, to send an eruption in order to protect her. She immediately has their brother Lonomakua, ignite the fires of Kīluaea causing the clouds to grow crimson and the “uplands of mountains and ridges of Maunakea, Maunaloa, and Hualālai” blanketed with smoke so that the “glow of the sun was blocked and darkness covered the lehua forest of Pana‘ewa.”<sup>580</sup> She is further advised by her sister to call on her brothers to bring the rains, and as soon as the prayer is heard “the thunder rumbled, the lighting flashed, the earth trembled, the rain came down, and the water flowed”

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<sup>578</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 57.

<sup>579</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 55.

<sup>580</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 56.



in the direction toward where Pana‘ewa. It is apparent that Pana‘ewa is no match for Hi‘iaka and her ‘āina Kīlauea. However, the mo‘o does not see his inevitable demise and continues to brag that there is no force that could overcome his strength or his “control over that lehua grove renowned by its name.”<sup>581</sup>

At this point, as the rain came in torrents, the lightning was striking tremors were shaking the earth, and the crackling of thunder was resounding across the sky. Hi‘iaka said to her friend, “Hold tightly to my skirt, for the power of my hand, Kīlauea, shall run along the ground to get a firm hold so that we are not washed away by the water that our brothers have sent.”<sup>582</sup>

The intense rain and lighting began to shake the earth uprooting Pana‘ewa, tossing him effortlessly and he began to change into different plant forms in an attempt to survive, but these forms of Pana‘ewa were powerless against the torrential rain.

Pana‘ewa took the form of a lehua tree, and sent its roots scrambling to hold fast to the earth, but nothing could withstand the onslaught of the water. The great mo‘o tried to take the form of ‘ama‘uma‘u ferns growing into the ground, but the effort was worthless, as they were uprooted by the water. Pana‘ewa kept trying with all of its powers until only the breath in its nostrils remained, whereupon the mo‘o began to think of its death. At that point, Pana‘ewa called out to Hi‘iaka, “Hi‘iaka! Spare me!”<sup>583</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 57.

<sup>582</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 57.

<sup>583</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 57.

It was only in this moment that Pana‘ewa could see his death and made a plea to be spared, which Hi‘iaka considered even though his actions were malevolent in nature. However, he was not spared because he couldn’t humble himself to ask a second time and with sincerity and he was swept away into the ocean as Hi‘iaka had foreseen, and swallowed in the belly of the big fish.<sup>584</sup>

*Creative Uses of Knowledge Inspired at Panaewa*

‘Ōlelo no‘eau provide further access to the interaction between traditional and original perception and the creative use of knowledge that is built upon ‘āina base knowledge. From this mo‘olelo there are three ‘ōlelo no‘eau that are created based on this interaction between Hi‘iaka and Pana‘ewa. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau “ola ia kini ke ‘ā maila ke ahi (the multitude finds life at last; the fire is lighted)” we see the rhizomatic nature of ‘āina base knowledge. By rhizomatic in nature, I refer to the principle of connections and heterogeneity, that occur between the most disparate and the most similar of objects, that “any point of the rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be.”<sup>585</sup> The concept of the rhizome maps a process of these relational and intersecting thoughts and has multiple entryways, as we see here, this ‘ōlelo no‘eau, enters through the mo‘olelo, the ‘āina of Pana‘ewa as well as the everyday act of eating. Through this ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and the creative use of knowledge employed, the map or the process between these relational and intersection thoughts is “open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification.”<sup>586</sup> In this ‘ōlelo no‘eau, an event that takes place at Pana‘ewa in the Mo‘olelo

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<sup>584</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 57.

<sup>585</sup> Deleuze & Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 7.

<sup>586</sup> Deleuze & Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 12.

of Hi‘iaka and Pele now becomes an expression of gladness that your hunger will soon be satisfied.

‘ŌN text: Ola ia kini ke ‘ā maila ke ahi.

Translation: The multitude finds life at last; the fire is lighted.

Explanation: This was first uttered by Pana‘ewa with whom Hi‘iaka battled. He rejoiced at seeing her and her companion and anticipated eating them. It was later used as an expression of gladness that the fire is lighted and the food on the way.<sup>587</sup>

As mentioned above, Kūkulukukui and Kapuakoi‘a are the guards of Pana‘ewa, who had warned him of Hi‘iaka and her companions arrival, however, what was not explained previously is what they were doing at the time of their arrival. They were in the midst of preparing food for Pana‘ewa and the fire had already been lit, when he receives the news, he is anxiously awaiting his food. Pana‘ewa then denies them access to which Hi‘iaka dismisses. It is at this moment when his “anger and wrath boiled up within” that the food is placed before him, to which he quickly devours all of the “cooked taro corms and the broiled taro leaves that the sentinel had brought.”<sup>588</sup> As Pana‘ewa satisfies his appetite, he openly challenges Hi‘iaka’s stamina that if it is anything less she will be destroyed, a moment for which he eagerly awaits and anticipates.

Pana‘ewa nui moku lehua  
 ‘Ōhi‘a kupu hāo‘eo‘ei ka lanī  
 I ka ua, lehua ‘ula i ka ua  
 I ka wī a ka manu, au pō ē  
 Pō wale Hilo i ka ahi o kū (ku‘u) ‘āina

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<sup>587</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 271. [‘ŌN, 2479]

<sup>588</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 53.

Olaia mini, ke ā maila ke ahi.<sup>589</sup>

Great Pana‘ewa, wildwood of lehua

‘Ōhi‘a that grows jaggedly toward heaven

In the rain, scarlet lehua in the rain

At the twitter of the birds, night has come

Hilo is darkened by the smoke of my land

Those multitudes will survive, for the fires are ablaze.<sup>590</sup>

Within the ‘ōlelo no‘eau, neither Pana‘ewa the place or mo‘o are mentioned explicitly, however ‘āina base knowledge would provide the connection to the exchange between Pana‘ewa and Hi‘iaka in the mo‘olelo and inform the context of its usage, or just how excited or hungry the person is. Interestingly, this line is later taken up by Hi‘iaka in the closing of a prayer when the battle between them is coming to an end, the message which carried Hi‘iaka’s destruction and the protection of the multitudes by Pana‘ewa has been subverted. It now becomes a message that the fire that is lit is Kīlauea, and it is through the protection of Pele that the multitudes will now survive.

A second example of creative use of knowledge based on this interlude in the mo‘olelo accentuates how quickly your surroundings, specifically your home can change and not for the better. The pathway through the sacred lehua grove could have been an easy one had Pana‘ewa acknowledged Hi‘iaka and welcomed her. However, as we have seen, this is not what takes place and the surrounds go from the beautiful lehua forest, to ‘a forest full of imps’ in an all our battle in a matter of a few decisive moves by Pana‘ewa and Hi‘iaka.

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<sup>589</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 58.

<sup>590</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 56.

‘ŌN text: Lilo i Puna i ke au a ka hewahewa, ho‘i mai ua piha  
ka hale i ke akua.

Translation: Gone to Puna on a vagrant current and returning,  
finds the house full of imps.

Explanation: From a chant by Hi‘iaka when she faced the  
lizard god Pana‘ewa and his forest full of imps in a battle. It  
was later used to refer to one who goes on his way and comes  
home to find things not to his liking.<sup>591</sup>

A third example of creative use of knowledge is through Hi‘iaka’s expression of exhaustion  
from the battle that takes place at Pana‘ewa, as is applied in the context of the exhaustion felt  
from everyday life.

‘ŌN text: Pau ke aho i ke kahawai lau o Hilo.

Translation: One’s strength is exhausted in crossing the many  
streams of Hilo

Explanation: Said of or by one who is weary with effort. First  
uttered by Hi‘iaka in a chant when she found herself weary  
after a battle with the lizard god Pana‘ewa.<sup>592</sup>

Through ‘ōlelo no‘eau used in this way, as creative expressions built on ‘āina based  
knowledge and expressed through mo‘oleo, there is rich gouged for examining the ways that  
‘āina informs us and forms us.

### *Hi‘iaka and the Power of the Voice*

Ka lima ‘o Kīlauea accompanies Hi‘iaka and her companions beginning with her  
departure from Halema‘uma‘u and continually shelters and protects them as their journey

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<sup>591</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 216. [‘ŌN, 2006]

<sup>592</sup> Pukui, ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, 287. [‘ŌN, 2609]

continues until their time on O‘ahu. Following the section of the mo‘olelo at Punahoa, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea only appears on two more occasions, in Wailuku and Mahiki. Hi‘iaka’s “supernatural smiting hand, Kīlauea,”—“ka lima ku‘i o Hi‘iaka, ‘o ia ‘o Kīlauea” protects Hi‘iaka and her companions from the boulders being hurled at them, and Hi‘iaka uses the power of her pā‘ū to destroy the mo‘o Piliamo‘o and Kuāua for not allowing safe passage across the Wailuku River.<sup>593</sup> At Makahiki, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea of Pele and Hi‘iaka turns the advances of the mo‘o Mahiki to ash before Hi‘iaka destroys him with her pā‘ū; “her hand of destruction, Pele’s own hand, Kīlauea,”—“lima lauahi o Hi‘iaka, ‘o ia ho‘i, ka lima o Pele, nona ka inoa ‘o Kīlauea.”<sup>594</sup> After Mahiki, ka lima ‘o Kīlauea does not appear again in the mo‘olelo and we don’t find out until Kaua‘i at Ha‘ena that Pele has taken it from Hi‘iaka.

Hi‘iaka explains when they arrive at Hā‘ena at the home of Lohi‘au, that ka lima ‘o Kīlauea of Pele and Hi‘iaka was taken away by Pele while at Kailua, O‘ahu where Hi‘iaka fell in love with Ka‘anahau and fulfilled her desires of love for him.<sup>595</sup> At this point in the mo‘olelo, Hi‘iaka has reached her destination, the home of the chief Lohi‘au, who will be the husband of Pele and her sisters. And although this should be a joyous moment there is a major problem, Lohi‘au has passed to the spirit world and Hi‘iaka must bring him back without the help of ka lima ‘o Kīlauea as she has done previously in the mo‘olelo.

My friend, we are going to have to climb that cliff where only  
the koa‘e birds dare to perch. That would not be any problem if

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<sup>593</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 85. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 93.

<sup>594</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 108. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 114.

<sup>595</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 169. Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 181.

our sister had only been patient about our use of the smiting hand, Kīlauea, for then we could stay down here and the hand would do the work to fetch our man's spirit in that cave. But our elder sister and chiefess is resentful, and has taken away the hand of power we share. [“akā, us ho‘ohuake‘eo ke kaikua‘ana haku o kākou a ua kā‘ili hou aku ‘o ia i ka lima ku‘i o māua.”] I forgot to mention that our chiefess had done that. I did, however, tell you about my seeing her while we were in Ko‘olau on O‘ahu. The only powers I have left now are my knowledge of healing, this skirt of mine, and my voice, and this chiefess of ours may yet take everything else and leave only my voice.<sup>596</sup>

Hi‘iaka acknowledges the gifts that she can employ in this situation to bring Lohi‘au back to life, her knowledge of healing, her pā‘ū and her voice. She also acknowledges that of the three, Pele has the ability to take away all except the voice, reiterating the importance of the voice in the Hawaiian worldview. It is through this section of the mo‘olelo that Hi‘iaka will grow in her powers and we have seen how the ‘āina of Kīlauea through ka lima ‘o Kīlauea has aided and nurtured this growth. Throughout the mo‘olelo we have seen how Hi‘iaka embodies the ‘āina of Kīlauea as a source of protection and guidance, as a source that saves lives and that heals. There are numerous ways in which ka lima ‘o Kīlauea manifests itself as aloha ‘āina discourse and the sub-discourse of nā mana ‘āina. Throughout this mo‘olelo there are many more patterns to be researched and discovered, looking at references to the place

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<sup>596</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *Ka Mo‘olelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 169. Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 181.

name of Kīlauea is both a tangible and theoretical way to better understand aloha ‘āina discourse.

### ***Conclusion***

Pele establishes her home on the island of Hawai‘i, but only after traversing from Kahiki and through out the entire archipelago in search of new settlement. The name Kīlauea travels with her and creates a continuum to these places and history. Although I have only made it through a portion of the references to Kīlauea it is clear to see that her ‘āina came with her and continues to travel with her. As experienced in the battle against Panaewa, Pele employs the ‘āina of Kahiki as a source of strength while drawing on the ‘āina that she currently dwells.<sup>597</sup> Through a study of the *KMH* and other primary Pele and Hi‘iaka literature the intersections of the cultural and political implications of the text and their relevance in terms of aloha ‘āina are clear. The continued historiography of the publication uses and analysis of this literature base will contribute to a greater understanding of important texts and the way they impact and shape national narrative, serving as “repositories of cultural insight and a foundation for understanding history and origins.”<sup>598</sup> Studying the Mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka through the lens of aloha ‘āina reacquaints Hawaiians with place and centers our frameworks providing continuity of place as nationalistic sentiment, a sentiment that can address the cultural clash of today the same way that it was employed by Hawaiians in the 19th century. The use of language from the Pele literature to describe the cultural clash of the early contact period and the missionization period created a space “to

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<sup>597</sup> Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 55.

<sup>598</sup> Nogelmeier, “Commentary,” 429. In Ho‘oulumāhie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*.



develop a national literature that corresponded to the development of a national consciousness throughout the 19th century.”<sup>599</sup> The Pele and Hi‘iaka literature “inculcated pride of place as well as awe before the power of the gods, [and] it could be used to support Hawaiian morale and cultural confidence.”<sup>600</sup> Similarly, in the face of continued US occupation, the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo is invaluable for Hawai‘i, because of the feelings of aloha ‘āina that it inspires; our attention is held because the forms of Pele are “visible and tangible.”<sup>601</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 58.

<sup>600</sup> Charlot, “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” 58.

<sup>601</sup> Kanahele & Wise, *Ka Honua Ola*, ii.

## Chapter 5: The Travelogue and The Expansion of the American Territorial Imaginary

International expositions served as a platform for the Hawaiian Kingdom's official narrative, first in 1867 at the Paris Exposition Universelles during the reign of King Kamehameha V and later over the course of King Kalākaua's reign at the Weltausstellung 1873 Wien, Centennial Exhibition (Philadelphia, 1876); the American Exhibition of the Products, Arts, and Manufactures of Foreign Nations (Boston, 1883); the International Fisheries Exhibition (London, 1883); the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition (New Orleans, 1884-1885); the Southern Exposition (Louisville, 1885); the Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition, and the Exhibition of Women's Industries and Centenary Fair (Melbourne and Sydney, Australia, 1888); the second Exposition Universelles (Paris, 1889); and at the Nord-West-Deutsche Gewerbe und Industrie-Ausstellung (Bremen, 1890).<sup>602</sup> Kamehiro explains that by displaying items of cultural significance at world expositions, the Hawaiian ali'i "imaged the cultural wealth, historic depth, and persistence of innovative and independent Native leadership of the Islands" and that the items on display functioned as "tangible manifestations of the narratives associated with the chiefs."<sup>603</sup>

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<sup>602</sup> Kamehiro, Stacy. *Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893*.  
[http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum\\_kamehiro.html](http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum_kamehiro.html). From World History Connected. Vol. 8. Issue 3. Viewed November 10, 2011 8:19 EST.

<sup>603</sup> Kamehiro, Stacy. *Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893*.  
[http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum\\_kamehiro.html](http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum_kamehiro.html). From World History Connected. Vol. 8. Issue 3. Viewed November 10, 2011 8:19 EST. P. 3 and P. 4.

Maps, natural history specimens, geological samples, photography and paintings were among the pieces included in the 1867 Exposition Universelle to present cultural and intellectual achievements of Hawai'i to an international audience. Additionally, government papers and literary examples were included to demonstrate a strong Hawaiian government administration and a cosmopolitan population in possession of deep scientific and creative literary knowledge paired with the educational capacity to produce written works in bilingual publications. The Kingdom's national exhibit featured *Ke Kaa o Laieikawai: Ka Hiwahiwa o Paliuli, Kawahineokaliula* by S.N. Haleole, an oral account that was published in Honolulu in 1863, along with other texts such as *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, whereby asserting a Hawaiian National narrative through these mechanisms.<sup>604</sup>

### ***Still and Moving Images in Turn-of-the-Century Hawai'i***

The world was soon to encounter new technology, through the kinetoscope (patent by Edison in 1891) which was in broad circulation by 1894 and the invention of the Lumiere's machine by the Lumiere Brothers in Paris in 1895.<sup>605</sup> This movement from projected images to the birth of cinema, would change the way images were interpreted and alter the subjective starting point of perception.<sup>606</sup> Edison Co.'s photographers filmed the earliest known motion pictures made in the Hawaiian Islands on May 10, 1898. The four short films which were originally produced by Thomas Edison and copyrighted a month later on June 22<sup>nd</sup> of that same year comprised of *Honolulu Street Scene*, *Kanakas Diving for Money (No. 1 and No. 2)*, and *Wharf Scene Honolulu*.<sup>607</sup> These films were shot in black and white with no sound,

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<sup>604</sup> Kamehiro, Stacy. Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893.

[http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum\\_kamehiro.html](http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum_kamehiro.html). From World History Connected. Vol. 8. Issue 3. Viewed November 10, 2011 8:19 EST. P. 3

<sup>605</sup> Abel, Richard. *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema*. London: Routledge, 2012. p 33-35. <https://books.google.com>

<sup>606</sup> Deleuze, & Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 194.

<sup>607</sup> Schmitt, *Hawaii in the Movies 1898-1959*, 17.

indicative of the technology of the time, bearing titles consistent with the film content.<sup>608</sup>

These initial documentations of Hawai‘i were the beginnings of the fascination and transformation of the imaginary of Hawai‘i through film media.

From early film footage, the moving image travelogue documentary emerged as one of the leading genres in Hawai‘i between 1898-1941. A travelogue is simply a narrated motion picture about travel, pieces of writings, or a lecture series often accompanied with film or slides that deal with travel.<sup>609</sup> These film travelogues introduced a new medium to the traditional travelogues about Hawai‘i that previously existed as both written and speech lectures, which were popular at the time. They also augmented the still image, painted picture, and reproducible print formats common during that time. These new travelogues would build on the familiar, reproducing narratives of authors such as Mark Twain and the imagery he produced based on his travels in 1866. Referencing their sense of smell and the salty and floral fragrance carried on the winds when recalling their last visit or perhaps dreaming of their first visit to the Island Paradise:

No alien land in all the world has any deep strong charm for me  
but one, no other land could so longingly and so beseechingly  
haunt me, sleeping and waking, through half a lifetime, as that  
one has done. Other things leave me, but it abides; other things  
change, but it remains the same. For me its balmy airs are  
always blowing, its summer seas flashing in the sun; the  
pulsing of its surfbeat is in my ear; I can see its garland crags,  
its leaping cascades, its plummy palms drowsing by the shore, its  
remote summits floating like islands above the cloud wrack; I  
can feel the spirit of its woodland solitudes, I can hear the plash

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<sup>608</sup> Edison, Thomas A. Honolulu Street Scene: Kanakas Diving for Money. [Library of Congress]: Thomas A. Edison, 1898.

<sup>609</sup> <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/travelogue> (accessed November 28, 2017).

of its brooks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that  
perished twenty years ago.<sup>610</sup>

Following the aftermath of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893, the United States backed Provisional Government and subsequent Territorial Government capitalized on American fascination with Hawai‘i, and employed the media of film as a way to promote an image of Hawai‘i as an extension of American territory and an object of American desire. By reappropriating ‘āina as landscape, the Provisional Government (PG), Republic of Hawai‘i (RoH) and the subsequent Territorial Government (TG) appropriated 19<sup>th</sup> century artistic and literary conventions to realign pre-existing associations to Hawai‘i—iconic landmarks, expansive shorelines, ideal climate, fragrant valleys, and rolling surf—that typified a visitor’s experience in the islands as an experience in a paradise extension of the United States. In this chapter I provide an analysis of travelogue films made between 1898 - 1941 with specific focus on short films commissioned by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau during this time in conjunction with a series of annual booklets titled “The Story of Hawaii” also published by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I compare and contrast the content of these sources with aloha ‘āina discourse and imagery Hi‘iaka’s movement through ‘āina from excerpts in the Mo‘olelo of Pele and Hi‘iaka. Through this, I intend to demonstrate that the Provisional Government (PG) and the subsequent Territorial Government (TG) attempted to overshadow the existing national identity and re-position the islands where the features of the ‘āina conform to outsider understandings of land and country to suture together Hawai‘i and the United States. The Territorial Government relied heavily on the effect of one’s experience with ‘āina in tandem with control over “public”

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<sup>610</sup> Mark Twain, In, Mak, James. Creating "Paradise of the Pacific" How Tourism Began in Hawaii. Manoa, Hawaii: College of Social Sciences, Dep. of Economics, 2015.  
<[http://www.economics.hawaii.edu/research/workingpapers/WP\\_15-3.pdf](http://www.economics.hawaii.edu/research/workingpapers/WP_15-3.pdf)>. This speech was livered by Twain in 1899, in recollection of his experience in Hawai‘i decades prior.

memory to situate Hawai‘i within the American national framework. Furthermore, I argue that the promotion of Hawai‘i as an extension of American domain and object of American desire contributed to the denationalization of the Hawaiian State through the promotion of a false national narrative and the expansion of the American territorial imaginary.

### ***Kīlauea as a Destination in the Hawaiian Kingdom***

The appeal and desire of Hawai‘i as a “paradise of the pacific” began long before moving images. Erupting views of Kīlauea, an active volcano on Hawai‘i Island, were among the most iconic images circulating internationally associated with the Hawaiian Kingdom decades before cinema was invented. Early visual references to Kīlauea as a landmark in the Pacific were made through expedition illustrations and later through the texts and often, accompanying sketches, of travel writers and novelists. “One of the earliest visiting artists to record Kīlauea was expedition illustrator Robert Dampier, who was on the H.M.S. *Blonde*’s tragic journey from England to Hawai‘i to bring home the beloved ali‘i King Liholiho (King Kamehameha II) and Queen Kamāmalu, who passed away of measles during their official trip to London. Among Dampier’s now famous illustrations and subsequent paintings derived from his time in Hawai‘i, his rendering of Kīlauea served as the frontispiece of the 1826 official narrative detailing the British expedition in *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the years 1824-1825*.”<sup>611</sup>

William Ellis published a depiction of his experience visiting Kīlauea a few years later in a publication titled *Volcano in the Sandwich Islands in the Polynesian Researches Vol III*, and Titian Ramsey Peale, a naturalist and illustrator on the United States South Seas

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<sup>611</sup> Curator’s Notes: Charles Furneaux and the Volcano School. Healoha Johnston, Honolulu Museum of Art blog 2016. <http://blog.honoluluacademy.org/curators-notes-charles-furneaux-and-the-volcano-school/> (accessed November 28, 2017).

Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842, painted *Kilauea by Night*.<sup>612</sup> Later, the 1880-81 eruptions prompted artists such as Charles Furneaux to eagerly travel to Hilo, traverse the mountain, and sketch on site in order to return to the artist studio and paint large-scale volcano scenes with gurgling lava in bright orange set against the deep night sky. Furneaux made a career out of having witnessed the eruptions of the 1880s.

In addition to the many visual impressions created of Kīlauea, writers such as Isabella Bird, Mark Twain, and the Scottish travel writer and amateur artist Constance Frederica Gordon Cumming also sparked international curiosity in Hawai‘i’s volcanic eruptions through their text publications. Visual and literary works of time reference notions of Romanticism and the Sublime “characterized by scenic depictions of the natural world—in turbulence or grandeur—and humanity’s perilous relationship to nature in a time of expedition.” Visitors to Hawai‘i marveled at the unfamiliar environmental conditions, and for visual artists, the intrigue of foreign lands made for theatrical landscape scenes popular among patrons in Hawai‘i and in their home countries.

19<sup>th</sup> century artists sought experiences in locales with awe-inspiring natural phenomena that were in turn, rendered using painterly conventions to imply divinity in nature. These conventions are linked to religious ideas, including Manifest Destiny, and an inclination toward scientific exploration. Manifest Destiny is a 19th-century doctrine used to justify American expansion across the North American continent. “The displacement and decimation of Native American people were considered part of America’s divine political destiny to stretch from coast to coast. These highly problematic religious views permeated territorial expansion campaigns into Texas and Oregon. In art, these principles were

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<sup>612</sup> Curator’s Notes: Charles Furneaux and the Volcano School. Healoha Johnston, Honolulu Museum of Art blog 2016. <http://blog.honoluluacademy.org/curators-notes-charles-furneaux-and-the-volcano-school/>

aestheticized into compelling landscapes of nature's most tempting but dangerous, intriguing but inaccessible formations such as raging waterfalls and molten lava flows.

Distinct among picturesque landscape styles, painters working with ideas of the sublime feature elements of nature's potential danger for heightened drama."<sup>613</sup> Depictions of smoldering lava pools, lightning bolts over the ocean, steaming vents and heavy clouds signaling the active presence of the volcano were typical elements in late 19<sup>th</sup> century artworks about Hawai'i. These compelling scenes coupled with the published words of travel writers promoted Kīlauea as a 19<sup>th</sup> century international travel destination. The volcano image operated in multiple ideologies. One, as a depiction of Pele's magnificence and power; two, as an example of scientific inquiry during a time of expedition; and three, as an example of American romantic landscapes focused on westward expansion. American adaptations of European Romanticism grew at a time of American westward territorial expansion into, what were considered by colonialists, to be uncharted territory in remote locales.<sup>614</sup>

### ***Hawaii Tourist Bureau, Creating the Foundation for American Desire***

The series of travelogue films commissioned for the Territory of Hawai'i, Hawai'i Tourist Bureau, covering the islands of Māui, O'ahu, Kaua'i and Hawai'i Island were highly successful in reproducing the image of Hawai'i as the extensions of American territory while simultaneously promoting Hawai'i as an object of desire.<sup>615</sup> The HTB hired "World Wide

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<sup>613</sup> Curator's Notes: Charles Furneaux and the Volcano School. Healoha Johnston, Honolulu Museum of Art blog 2016. <http://blog.honoluluacademy.org/curators-notes-charles-furneaux-and-the-volcano-school/>

<sup>614</sup> Healoha Johnston, exhibition label, Honolulu Museum of Art, 2017.

<sup>615</sup> A Miller-Nagel Production ; presented by [sponsored by] The Hawaii Tourist Bureau ; producers, Palmer Miller and Curtis P. Nagel. *The island of Oahu: Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A.* 1934.

A Miller-Nagel Production ; presented by [sponsored by] The Hawaii Tourist Bureau ; producers, Palmer Miller and Curtis P. Nagel. *The island of Maui: Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A.* 1934.

A Miller-Nagel Production ; presented by [sponsored by] The Hawaii Tourist Bureau ; producers, Palmer Miller and Curtis P. Nagel. *The island of Hawai'i: Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A.* 1934.

A Miller-Nagel Production ; presented by [sponsored by] The Hawaii Tourist Bureau ; producers, Palmer Miller and Curtis P. Nagel. *The island of Kauai: Territory of Hawaii, U. S. A.* 1934.



Travel Films Corporation headed by Curtis F. Nagel and Palmer Miller, who spend approximately 3 months in the Territory gathering footage of Oahu, Maui, Hawaii and Kauai.” These films were commissioned for “professional release to class A theaters throughout the world.”<sup>616</sup> The films were narrated by Don Blanding, a well known American poet who loved Hawaii and was sometimes described as “poet laureate of Hawaii.”<sup>617</sup> At the time, the commission of these films was considered and “an ambitious program by producing motion pictures of the Hawaiian Islands that are in both sound and color.”<sup>618</sup> According to BPBM film archivist DeSoto Brown, these films were not made with the explicit intention of being shown in the Hawaiian Islands, although when fitting they would have been. Rather they were created for American audiences as previews to be screened in theatres across the continental United States. Brown also points out that during this time, people would come early to see the previews as it was an important part of the movie going experience.<sup>619</sup> However, the HTB did take advantage of the tourist population and held screenings of the films daily at a local theatre and the bureau offices as a primary way to promote travel to outer islands.

Travel to the other islands is encouraged at all times. Special, island motion pictures were shown at a local theater in a “See-Every-Island” campaign during the height of the tourist season. A “Go-to-the-Volcano” drive was instituted during the eruption of Kilauea. Miniature movies of the islands were shown daily at the bureau’s offices and special good-will tours to each of the principal islands were arranged by the bureau. An

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<sup>616</sup>United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 9-10.

<sup>617</sup><https://allpoetry.com/Don-Blanding>

<sup>618</sup>United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 9-10.

<sup>619</sup> Personal conversation with DeSoto Brown, Archivist at the Bishop Museum and Curator of the Film Collection. May 24, 2013.

additional 25 place markers were provided for the islands of Kauai, Oahu, Maui, and Hawaii, and erected by the county authorities.<sup>620</sup>

The films in this series, highlight specific images connecting the audience to Hawai‘i to impress upon American citizens an idyllic portrayal of island life, and reinforce personal and imagined associations to Hawai‘i in order to further legitimize the Americanization process. The film in this series, *Island of Oahu*, runs just under 10 minutes and calls attention to various images of life in Hawai‘i, ranging from the capitol of Honolulu “the capitol city of our American Territory of the Hawaiian Islands” to the “suburban retreat” of Lanikai and the details of a pineapple season and harvest. The film opens with the narrator, “Honolulu, the capital city of our American Territory of the Hawaiian Islands, is a beautiful modern city set against a background of primitive beauty in these crossroads of the Pacific.”<sup>621</sup> Through the opening shots of the film, there is a juxtaposition of a bustling and productive display of Americanness against the “vivid splashed of color in the flowering trees.” The Hawaiian Islands are being portrayed as your everyday American city, with all the amenities that your average American citizen is accustomed to and familiar with, however it can’t be too familiar, the appeal of mystique and desire must also be at the forefront.

The bright roofs, the vivid splashes of color in the flowering trees, the green mountains veiled with rainbows combine to make [inaudible] unforgettable loveliness. Palm trees constantly sway in the soft trade winds providing the delightful climate in which the islands enjoy. The beauty of the tropics even invades the commercial district. The graceful palms blend harmoniously with beautiful modern business structures. The

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<sup>620</sup>United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 10.

<sup>621</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, “Island of Oahu.” (Film, Transcription, N.K. Ishihara)

old royal palace now houses the executive offices of the territorial government. A ponciana razor tree makes a vivid pattern against the walls of the city hall. [Name inaudible, image of a tree] is a fine example of the ponciana. It is a favorite subject for the artist. The red petals of the ground look like smoldering embers. The individual blossoms look like bright red orchids. One of the loveliest so-called shower trees in the islands adds another tent to the flowery rainbow of city streets.<sup>622</sup>

Young states that during this same time the Territorial Government also commissioned Ralph S. Kuyekendall to write a “definitive history of the Islands” with the “political objective...to sanitize the Hawaiian national past, its precursors, and the oral and written record that did exist.”<sup>623</sup> The films produced were no different.

Some initial background on the Hawaii Tourist Bureau is warranted in order to fully interrogate the films and publications commissioned by the Bureau. In 1903, The TG established the Hawaii Promotion Committee to oversee the advertisement of Hawai‘i as a tourist destination aimed at appealing to those living on the continental U.S. The promotional strategy was to piggy-back on travelers visiting California, and encourage them to go a bit further, cross the Pacific, and arrive in paradise: Hawai‘i. By the turn-of-the-century, authors were presenting their Hawai‘i film travelogues to packed audiences who were eager to learn more about Hawai‘i. With a modest budget of \$15,000 approved by Governor Sanford Dole, the Committee promoted Hawai‘i as a place of “perpetual spring and romance” in American magazines.<sup>624</sup> The Hawaii Promotion Committee grew into the Hawaii Tourist Bureau in 1919 and by 1922, had an annual budget of \$100,000, a substantial financial commitment on

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<sup>622</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, “Island of Oahu.” (Film, Transcription, N.K. Ishihara)

<sup>623</sup> Young, *Kuleana*, 24.

<sup>624</sup> “History,” <https://www.hvcb.org/corporate/history.htm>

behalf of the TG.<sup>625</sup> By 1934, the tourist business was Hawai‘i’s third industry, after pineapple and sugar. During that year in 1934, the tourism industry had shown a 60% increase from the previous year with “visitors for the 12 months of 1934 total[ing] 16,161 as compared with 10,111 for 1933.”<sup>626</sup> According to this report, the improvement in travel to Hawai‘i was a considerable gain in comparison to other vacation centers or even transpacific travel and was being attributed to “consistent advertisement during the years of depression” and had placed Hawaii in a position to take advantage of the “American public’s revived interest in travel.”<sup>627</sup> Although the number had increased significantly during this year, it is interesting to note the amount of people that passing through Hawai‘i at this time, out of the 293 ships that come though in 1934 there are a total number of 46,443 passengers. 5, 172 are returning local residents, 16, 161 tourists coming to the islands and 25,110 through passengers.<sup>628</sup>

The series of films produced in 1934, increased the reach on the tourist market in a new way, and built upon the traditional campaigning and advertising that the bureau were accustomed to. In 1934, the HTB produced over 75,000 copies of “Tourfax, the bureau’s monthly publication of general information, that were placed in the hands of the traveling public;” they also printed a new general book “Nearby Hawaii,” to “furnish travel agents throughout the United States and Canada with the necessary material for “selling” Hawaii.”

<sup>629</sup> 5,000 copies of a more “elaborate booklet, The Story of Hawai‘i, were given to preferred

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<sup>625</sup> <https://www.hvcb.org/corporate/history.htm>

<sup>626</sup> United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 9.

<sup>627</sup> United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 9.

<sup>628</sup> United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 9.

<sup>629</sup> United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 10. (Author’s Emphasis)

prospects” for the trip to Hawai‘i.<sup>630</sup> Through these booklets, I provide further analysis of the systemic process of Americanization that takes place through the promotion of the American Territorial Imaginary. Although I was not able to locate the 1934 printing of “The Story of Hawaii,” I was able to locate the 1925 and 1929 versions at Hamilton and Bishop Museum respectively. A comparison of the two indicates a reliance on the same general format and themes.<sup>631</sup>

*Excerpts from The Story of Hawaii Booklets*

The Hawaii Tourist Bureau booklets subscribe to the same general format and narrative structure as the films, but in print form. Each booklet begins with following statement (or one very similar to it) on the introduction page:

THE STORY OF HAWAII

FOREWORD AND INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE OF HAWAII present his booklet as a general story of the Territory of Hawaii of especial interest to prospective visitors but embracing something regarding its history, geography and commerce, all of which may be found readily by referring to the table of contents on the opposite page.

Changeable current data such as hotel rates, sailing dates, steamer and inter-island excursion fares, also sample itineraries, are given in a separate Tourfax bulletin which is revised and corrected monthly. The latest Tourfax may be obtained from our offices listed below or any leading travel or steamship agency.

This bureau is a public institution impartially representing the Chambers of Commerce of all the island counties of the

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<sup>630</sup>United States Department of the Interior. Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935. “Tourist Trade” p. 10.

<sup>631</sup>The Story of Hawaii, published by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1925. University of Hawaii library collection. Capitalized words in original text.

Territory of Hawaii. We have nothing for sale. Our sole purpose is to attract you to Hawaii and then to help make your stay as enjoyable as possible, also to assist you to find a home if you decide to take up residence here, as do many of our visitors by increasing numbers each year. We are at your service with any desired information and cordially invite you to call upon us when you arrive in Honolulu.

HAWAII TOURIST BUREAU

828 Fort Street, Honolulu

HAWAII

U.S.A.<sup>632</sup>

As the years went on, words like “we” shift to “it.” From the 1925 booklet to the 1929 booklet the text on the introductory page remains consistent with this exception. Changing the word “*we* have to nothing to sell” to “*it* has nothing to sell” depersonalizes the Bureau as to not appear to be an association made up of vested individuals, but rather to convincingly appear to offer an official and objective assessment of Hawai‘i in service of the ultimate tourist experience. The subject headings emphasize the bureau’s commitment to the “experience” and serve to reinforce existing notions about romance, paradise, adventure, luxury, and Hawai‘i’s place on a national circuit of American destinations.

Subject headings within the booklet include:

Twentieth Century Adventuring  
 Climate Nearly Perfect  
 Flowering Trees in Spring and Summer  
 Frequent Steamship Service  
 Cost of Living Moderate  
 Cottages Adjoin Hotels  
 Few Inspections upon Arrival

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<sup>632</sup>The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, “The Story of Hawaii, (1925).” (Capitalized words in original text.)

Many transportation Facilities  
Mails, Cable, Radio, Periodicals  
Don't Hurry  
Charming Hawaiian Customs  
Surf-Riding Thrilling Sport  
Things that are different  
Old Sports and New  
Life in the Open  
Islands Centrally located  
Every Island Fascinating  
Kauai the Garden Island  
Quaint Hawaiian Legends  
Hunting and Fishing Popular  
The "Valley Island" of Maui  
Sugar and Pineapple Chief Crops  
Hawaii the Big Island  
Hawaii National Park  
Every-Changing Volcanic Activity  
Nature in the Rough  
Around Hawaii by Motor  
History of the Hawaii Romantic  
Interesting Language  
Island Semi-Tropical  
Territorial Government  
Many Schools  
Churches for Everyone  
Population Diversified  
Usual American Clubs  
An Ideal Home-Land  
Good Positions Are Scarce  
Investments Profitable  
The Place You've been Seeking

The back of the booklet reads “Enchanted Isles of Perpetual Spring”

The subject headings segue into short paragraphs that describe in very simple terms, things like the ‘central location’ of the islands. Beneath heading number 16, Islands Centrally Located, the following sentence “Hawaii is America’s western frontier and as such Uncle Sam’s strongest military post and naval base” leads a paragraph about how Hawai‘i is “so strategically located at such a central point in the rapidly developing Pacific area...” as if to convincingly bridge the distance across the Pacific in the imagination of anyone debating whether or not to venture past California.<sup>633</sup>

These booklets also display blatant distortions of history and early campaigns for statehood in excerpts such as, “Since Hawaii is a territory of the United States not yet enjoying the privileges of statehood...” and several other lines that attribute all the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century nation-state priorities to Hawai‘i’s relationship with the American missionaries and then with the United States. The following excerpt being an example:

The missionaries introduced printings, schools, churches, better homes, diversified agriculture, and the Hawaiian being adaptable quickly became the highest developed and most cultured of all their Polynesian brethren. American ideals, customs, and institutions surely came to the fore, and caused the country to develop and progress with unprecedented rapidity. The people finally rebelled against the autocratic, precarious rein of the last monarch, Queen Liliuokalani, deposed her in 1893, set up an independent Republic, and in 1898 were annexed upon their own request to the United States of America. Therefore, Hawaii has never been a “possession” of the United States but rather an integral part of it as a

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<sup>633</sup> The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, “The Story of Hawaii, (1925)”,15



Territory. Judge Sanford B. Dole, only president of the Republic of Hawaii, and first governor of the territory, still lives (July, 1925) in Honolulu.<sup>634</sup>

This representation of Hawai‘i is further complicated by two major factors: that the continuity of the Hawaiian State persists and its citizen base is protected within international law; and that the Territory of Hawaii at that time was mistakenly considered by world governments to be exactly that: a territory of the U.S. (not a full member of the Union). Through this dynamic a space for ‘multiplicity writing’ emerges in the attempt to construct the new TG narrative as naturally distinct within the context of Americannes. As Shapiro explains, “the stories through which the state reproduces its coherence, its imagined culture coherence, and social unity, fail to acknowledge both the permeability of its borders that its functioning encourages and the internal modes of cultural diversity and ambiguity that challenge its pedagogy of unity.”<sup>635</sup>

Although the bureau insists in its introduction to “The Story of Hawaii” that they “have nothing for sale,” much is at stake for the TG. They are in fact, situating Hawai‘i within the American national framework using tourism – an economy based on consumption – as the mechanism to achieve their primary desire to link Hawai‘i with the U.S. socially and politically first through their multiple failed attempts at annexation and their continued push to become a full member of the union.

### *Attempting to Re-write Kīlauea*

By attempting to re-write the historical significance of Kīlauea, the Territorial Government, attempts to reduce the home of Pele, Hi‘iaka and their ‘ohana to an American

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<sup>634</sup> The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, “The Story of Hawaii, (1925)”, 27

<sup>635</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 46.

National Park. In 1872, Yellowstone National Park was established as the United States's first national park. Other parks emerged over the decades that followed, yet it wasn't until 1910 that the Park Service "transformed the national parks from a collection of independent scenic wonders managed by various private railroad corporations into a system of nationalized tourist attractions overseen by an official, independent government bureau."<sup>636</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer explains that "between 1880 and 1940, the emerging tourist industry in the United States actively promoted tourism as a ritual of American citizenship. Commercial clubs, railroad corporations, and the National Park Service, good-roads advocates, guidebook publishers, and a wide array of tourist advocates and enthusiasts defined the tourist experience in national terms."<sup>637</sup>

Shaffer goes on to describe the way economies developed around tourist sites through the marketing strategies that "branded" American places as part of the quintessential national experience. Early on, sites located along the railroad promoted accessibility to their uniquely "American" destination and "in teaching tourists what to see and how to see it, promoters invented and mapped an idealized American history and tradition across the American landscape, defining an organic nationalism that lined national identity to a shared territory and history."<sup>638</sup>

These turn-of-the-century tourist campaigns centered on a nationalist experience with nature that "disrupted the traditional forms of collective memory and identity, commercialized leisure helped to reshape cultural memory and consciousness."<sup>639</sup> Shaffer

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<sup>636</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Smithsonian Institute, 2001. P.94

<sup>637</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Smithsonian Institute, 2001. P.4

<sup>638</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Smithsonian Institute, 2001. P.4

<sup>639</sup> Historian George Lipsitz in Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Smithsonian Institute, 2001. P.5

speculates that America developed a “national identity sanctioned by God” that required a form of reconciliation of the inherent contradictions given the profound injustice upon which the United States based its nationhood. “Tourism, defined as a kind of virtuous consumption, promised to reconcile this national mythology, which celebrated nature, democracy, and liberty, with the realities of an urban-industrial nation-state dependent on extraction, consumption, and hierarchy.”<sup>640</sup>

Lorrin Thurston, a key figure in the coup d'état of the Hawaiian monarchy, and the establishment of the Provisional Government and Territorial Government, led the effort to situate Kīlauea, home to Pele, Hi'iaka and their 'ohana, within the auspices of the American National Park system. He began the campaign to make the volcano a public park in 1906 and although it took 10 years, in 1916, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson authorized the Volcanoes National Park as the 13th national park of the United States. “At first, the park consisted of only the summits of Kilauea and Mauna Loa on Hawai‘i and Haleakala on Maui. Eventually, Kilauea Caldera was added to the park, followed by the forests of Mauna Loa, the Ka‘ū Desert (the site of ancient warrior footprints set in ash), the rain forest of Ola‘a, and the Kalapana archaeological area of the Puna/Ka‘ū Historic District” whereby expanding the reach of the American territorial imaginary.<sup>641</sup> This transference of information enables a space where faux-official and U.S official discourse are engaged and the rewriting of Hawai‘i’s national history for an American population is actively occurring.

This was damaging to the foundation mythologies of the so-called territorial administration. Institutional racism of that era set the groundwork to preclude any resurgent nationalism on the part of Hawaiian subjects based on ulterior political motives

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<sup>640</sup> Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Smithsonian Institute, 2001. P.5

<sup>641</sup> <https://www.nps.gov/havo/learn/kidsyouth/park-history.htm>

to maintain hegemony and absolute social control. The recognition of the native Hawaiian intellect rooted in good part in the traditionalism of the ancients had to be recast. The evidence was often reframed and intentionally marginalized.<sup>642</sup>

*The Story of Hawaii* booklets published by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau encourage American visitors to participate in the writing of a new history in a process that marginalizes Hawaiian systems of knowledge and negates the existence of Hawaiian nationhood. References in the booklet to pre-American governance resort to “primitivizing” tactics where Hawaiians and ancient thought are thought not to have evolved into the present. The misconstrued political and historical context provides a robust branding opportunity for the TG to continue reinforcing the imaginary with campaign sound bites promoting Hawai‘i as a unique destination among American nationalist sites. Kīlauea is always mentioned in the booklets as a National Park distinct among American parks. One booklet includes a feature story titled “Fiery Kilauea and Dreamy Kona.”

Kilauea is a friendly volcano and an outbreak of lava in her 1,200-foot deep firepit, considered a good omen by the Hawaiians, is a spectacle that attracts residents from all the other islands as well as thrill seekers from all parts of the globe. The pit filled with lava, a surging sea of fire is a close-up of the mighty forces that shaped our world. Because the volcanic activity is confined to this huge bowl and the eruptions are not of an explosive character, there is no danger to spectators at Kilauea’s fiery demonstrations. The lava outbreaks are only intermittent (there is no way of accurately predicting their occurrence) and for long periods the firepit is devoid of lava. On these occasions the volcano show (always awe-inspiring)

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<sup>642</sup> Young, 2006: 24.

consists of steam clouds sent from the center of the earth, and pit slides.

Hawaiian legends say that Halemaumau firepit is the home of the volcano goddess, Pele. When you pay homage to Pele by visiting the pit you are eligible to the exclusive fire fraternity known as the Hui-O-Pele, and you can get a membership certificate at National Park headquarters.<sup>643</sup>

In this case, a visitor is then certified after having visited the National Park, as if to authenticate their experience at Kīlauea. Kīlauea was, through this act, reframed as an extension of the U.S. through the American understanding of national parks, and the nationalistic experience tourists associated with the public park system. This association was reinforced through the film and the booklets commissioned by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau.

*Excerpts from the Island of Hawai‘i Film*

The films produced by Palmer Miller and Curtis F. Nagel commissioned by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau present the *Island of Hawaii* through a series of narrated film images that frequently juxtapose city life with untamed landscape; ancient tradition with modern convenience; adventure and luxury; beauty and the strange. Below are excerpts from the film that pertain specifically to the Kīlauea, along with other brief snippets to offer a fuller picture of the film content.

The village of Lapahoehoe lies below; it is built on an ancient lava flow. On the side of Mt. Mauna Loa there is a region fascinating more for its weirdness than more for its conventional beauty. In the district of the volcano in Hawaii National Park, are fumerals, steam pits, sulfur caves, old and new lava flows, scarred and tortured by volcanic fires. A region

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<sup>643</sup> The Story of Hawaii, The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1926. P.27. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library and Archive Collection. Emphasis through italics and sequences of dots exist in original text. Reproduced here as it appears in original text.

that just (inaudible) illustrations for Dante's inferno. Visitors from colder climates who have nursed their pet ferns through the rigors of winter will be charmed by a forest of giant tree ferns arching high above their heads in cool, lacy patterns. The path through the tree fern forest leads to an old lava tube. Imagine walking into lava tubes, like empty veins who only recently flowed the hot earth blood of a living volcano.<sup>644</sup>

The occasional reference to Pele is made to add mystery and potential danger to the tourist experience: "The green, gold wonder of a sulfur cliff with crystals of pure sulfur, formed of the fiery breath of the goddess in the great crater of Kilauea is the pit of Halemaumau the house of everlasting fire."<sup>645</sup> Allusions to an accessible adventure bring all the heightened drama of boiling lava to a safe place:

When this great pit is periodically filled lava, it is a sight so spectacular that the mind can scarcely grasp it, even while looking at it. When it is quiet it is sinisterly beautiful with its threat of leashed fury, showing in the death mask of the lava fountains 900ft below, which only recently vomited fiery lava high in the air. With all its primitive grander of earth still in the making, Hawaii's volcanoes are harmless enough because Kilauea is an open throat volcano, it does not have the usual destructive quality of other famous volcanoes, and the spectacle may be viewed in safety.<sup>646</sup>

The combination of natural wonder imagery with rail and cable imagery appeals to notions of adventure and awe-inspiring experiences that can be achieved through the conveniences of progress and modern life. It also makes reference to the ease of accessibility and further situates Hawai'i within the tourist framework familiar to Americans whose nationalistic

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<sup>644</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, "The Island of Hawaii." (Transcription by S.K. Souza)

<sup>645</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, "The Island of Hawaii." (Transcription by S.K. Souza)

<sup>646</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, "The Island of Hawaii." (Transcription by S.K. Souza)

experiences of the 1880-1940 paradigm relied on stops along the railroad routes. The narrator continues: “Fascinating rail and auto tours thread the gulches of Hamakua,” with an image of a car driving along the Hamakua coast, “past stalwart trestles...tributes to Hawaiian engineering” spoken as the camera films a bridge being constructed, “over leaping cascades, flashing in the sunlight” while moving images of rivers and waterfalls fill the screen, “and along winding flumes carrying juicy cane to sugar mills”, “sometimes the cane sings along on a cable,” spoken as images of rail and cable used for sugar transportation are filmed.<sup>647</sup>

The narrator describes the “civilized” and luxuries aspects of the city by describing what very likely constitute the American ‘good life.’ “The city is well supplied with churches and other social centers like the Yacht club” says the voice as the film shows two churches and a couple having lunch at the yacht club, others walking around the grounds, and divers leaping into a swimming pool, “while golf bugs revel on high cool slopes,” he continues as the film shows golfers at the Hilo Country club.<sup>648</sup> According to Shaffer, Historians of consumer culture have shown that the ‘culture of abundance’ was created at the turn of the through the promotion of the idea and illusion of leisure through the advocacy of “business leaders, magazine publishers, advocates of the leisure industry, advertisers, [and] social theorists.”<sup>649</sup> The notion of abundance in this context is quite different from ideas focused on the sustaining health of ‘āina; where in the consumer context, abundance is not manifested through one’s relationship in balance with the elements of the universe, but rather, is a lifestyle based on the idea that experiences and goods can be consumed with insatiable appetite until one’s personhood is sufficiently validated. “In the process, purchasable goods

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<sup>647</sup> 1920-30, *The scenic Isles, The Island of Hawaii*.

<sup>648</sup> 1920-30, *The scenic Isles, The Island of Hawaii*.

<sup>649</sup> Shaffer, *See America First*, 263

became more than objects of necessity or luxury, they were imbued with symbolic value that promised adventure, escape, leisure, drama, the ‘good life’.”<sup>650</sup>

*Hawaii Tourist Bureau and “White Citizens”*

The Hawaii Promotion Committee that eventually became the Hawaii Tourist Bureau worked on behalf of the TG to affix Hawai‘i firmly within the American territorial imaginary, and also worked to Americanize Hawai‘i’s population by recruiting American’s to visit and potentially relocate to the islands as a way of increasing the American presence with the citizen body. As early as 1906, a systematic approach to branding Hawaii through tourism was established in conjunction with the initiative to repopulate Hawaii with “white citizens.” “If Honolulu wants white citizens to come and live within her borders or even a larger number of tourists... [we must show] that a busy wide-awake American city has been transported to the center of an earthly paradise – a sort of garden (sic) of Eden with all the modern conveniences.”<sup>651</sup>

This statement is consistent with the film and publication strategies developed by Hawaii Tourist Bureau to appeal to the tourist expectations of a modern, exotic, awe-inspiring, and luxurious experience with nature described on earlier pages—tinged with explicit racism. The threat of immigration to the givenness of America’s national culture, was expressed through the observations of the then eminent sociologist E.A. Ross, who published his work, entitled *The Old World in the New* in 1914, which “equated policies that allowed a rapid influx of immigrants in the United States with ‘race suicide.’”

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<sup>650</sup> Shaffer, *See America First*, 263

<sup>651</sup> Hawaiian Gazette, 13 February, 1906 in Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai‘i, 1854-1945. Lynn Davis, *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol 35. 2001.



The practiced eye, the physiognomy of certain groups unmistakably proclaims inferiority of type. I have seen gathering of the foreign -born in which narrow and sloping foreheads were the rule... There were so many sugar-loaf heads, moon-faces, lantern jaws, and goose-bill noses that one might imagine a malicious jinn had amused himself by casting human beings in a set of skew-molds discarded by the Creator.<sup>652</sup>

This is of course problematic in that immigration in the TG is based entirely on its economic policy, which encouraged border movement at an alarming rate post-1898.<sup>653</sup> Not only were government initiatives developed to recruit American homesteaders to Hawai‘i as a way to offset the ‘Ōiwi and Asian immigrant population, but the Hawaii Tourist Bureau over the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, became a key agency in the initiative. The language used in Hawaii Tourist Bureau booklets reflects this impetus.

Upon request of the chamber of commerce of Honolulu, the Tourist Bureau took over housing activities occasioned by the heavy influx of service personal and civilian employees on emergency projects. This phase of the Bureau’s special work has increased tremendously, at present requiring considerable staff. However, this work provided a vital service in the community and is greatly appreciated by military authorities as well as the individuals served. Since starting this work in March 1940, 10,595 persons have asked for assistance in locating accommodations, and the Bureau has been instrumental in renting 3,349 cottages, apartments and rooms.<sup>654</sup>

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<sup>652</sup> Ross, *The Old World and the New*, 286. In, Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 41.

<sup>653</sup> See work by the following scholars who address this:

<sup>654</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior: Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii (Fiscal Year June 30, 1941), 78.

Militourism, as Dr. Teresia Teaiwa explains, is the pervasive presence of military power disguised by the friendly welcome of a tourist economy.<sup>655</sup> As is the case in Hawai‘i where the Hawaii Promotion Committee turned Hawaii Tourist Bureau established in 1903 worked to support the socio-political and economic motives of the PG responsible for the coup d’état against the Hawaiian Government which transitioned into the TG in 1900; through the deployment of film and literature to create the illusion of Hawai‘i as part of the United States. Working in alignment, ships that transported goods to and from the islands were used to transport construction and military supplies, and after 1940, the luxury liners that once brought tourists were re-purposed to bring construction workers and military service men and women to Hawai‘i as part of what has become the military complex. It is clear that the Hawaii Tourist Bureau worked in close cooperation with military authorities during the Territorial years.

The Hawaii Tourist Bureau continued its aggressive advertising campaign through 1941, their magazine campaign alone having a “paid circulation exceeding 35 1/2 million.”<sup>656</sup> These advertisements continued to promote the ease and safety of vacationing in and relocating to Hawai‘i through the theme “Hawaii, a world of happiness in an ocean of peace.”<sup>657</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau also utilized radio airwaves as a mechanism to transmit their “story of Hawai‘i.” “The two national programs, Hawaii Calls and Voice of Hawaii, which originated with KGMB and KGU and are broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company network respectively, are made possible

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<sup>655</sup> Teaiwa, “Postscript,” 847-853.

<sup>656</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior: Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii (Fiscal Year June 30, 1941), 77-78.

<sup>657</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior: Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii (Fiscal Year June 30, 1941), 77-78.

through Bureau support” and in 1941, were broadcast every Saturday and every Sunday over the National Broadcasting Company Network.

Through cooperation with the United States Commission of the Golden Gate International Exposition, in 1940 the Bureau’s motion picture, Hawaii, U.S.A., was shown to more than 100,000 persons in the Federal theater on Treasure Island. Under an agreement with Paramount Pictures, Inc., this Hawaii, U.S.A., in two “shorts” was distributed in leading movie houses throughout the western hemisphere. Both of these one-reelers, Pacific Paradise and Red, White and Blue Hawaii, have been seen by millions in the United States, Canada, Latin America, Antipodes and the Orient.<sup>658</sup>

The Territorial Government used the Hawaii Tourist Bureau as a vehicle to endorse not only the pineapple and sugar industries but create a way for the American population to connect to land and propel “the rewriting of our historical and physical landscape ultimately construct[ing] a territorial citizen and landmass—both shaped by U.S. ideology.”<sup>659</sup> The “ideological gloss” that the Hawaii Tourist Bureau worked so diligently to perpetuate would continue to be a source that would, as Trask argues in *From a Native Daughter* build and validate tourism as Hawai‘i’s “economic savior.”<sup>660</sup>

### *A Theoretical Reading of the Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau Films*

In *Cinematic Geopolitics*, Shapiro explains “that a variety of philosophers and social theorist whose writings influence my analysis have argued that cinema provides superior access to empirical veracity than other forms of managed perception.”<sup>661</sup> Walter Benjamin

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<sup>658</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior: Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii (Fiscal Year June 30, 1941), 78.

<sup>659</sup> Iaukea, *The Queen and I*, 27.

<sup>660</sup> Trask, *From A Native Daughter*, 137.

<sup>661</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5.

articulates that film technology in its early stages of development allowed the viewer to take “the position of the critic” as it takes on the “position of the camera.”<sup>662</sup> The perception that is created by the position these films encouraged contributed to misunderstanding of history by the larger American citizenry and contributed significantly to the erasure of Hawaiian Kingdom history. Umphenor affirms that the through various institutions such as the education systems and the media, Americans were and are indoctrinated to believe in the legitimacy of the illegal annexation and subsequent events. Further these history lessons are put under the promise of paradise and the “ideal living conditions these Islands posses.”<sup>663</sup>

Because of its warm tropical breezes, sandy beaches, palm trees, crystal-blue waters, flowered leis, pineapples, and great surfing the term ‘paradise’ has often been used to describe the Hawaiian Islands. From a child’s history lessons to the media hype of tourist boards and marketing firms, Americans have become enraptured by the mysteries of Hawaii and the ideal living conditions these Islands possess. The members of the Hawaiian Visitors and Convention bureau authors confirm this theme....<sup>664</sup>

These images of ‘āina have been actively suppressed in order to be repackaged as landscape and used to connect an American foreign population with Hawai‘i through montages of “warm tropical breezes, sandy beaches, palm trees, crystal-blue waters, flowered leis, pineapples, and great surfing” with no connection to historiography of ‘āina thus allowing space for the American imaginary to flourish.<sup>665</sup> Shapiro further states the unique advantage that cinema provides for understanding perception, especially in regards to space and

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<sup>662</sup> Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” 228. Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5.

<sup>663</sup> Umphenour, “The Americanization of Hawaii,” 1.

<sup>664</sup> Umphenour, “The Americanization of Hawaii,” 1.

<sup>665</sup> Umphenour, “The Americanization of Hawaii,” 1.

positionality through a “gloss on film-philosophy,” which permits image to act in an all at once matter that effects everything at the same time.<sup>666</sup>

Most recently, in a gloss on the film-philosophy writings of Deleuze, Ranciere has noted that cinema achieves what vision obscures by undoing the “ordinary work of the human brain.” It “puts perception back in things because its operation is one of restitution” of reality that the brain has “confiscated,” in part because it disrupts the human tendency to place oneself at “the center of the universe of images.”<sup>667</sup>

Through the perspectives shared above by Rancier, Shapiro and Deleuze, I suggest that within this active Denationalization/Americanization process, the ‘āina speaks. Through all of this there is another discourse at work. Although, this process occurring both by the expansion of the American Territorial Imaginary and the influx of the American citizenry as well as the inculcation of the Hawaiian national population and the continual creation of a TG faux-official discourse that aims to align with US official discourse, the ‘āina speaks. Through, ‘āina, there is an existence of the official component of the Hawaiian national narrative. Shapiro suggest, that cinema contributes to both “sympathetic as well as critical thinking,” and through film there is always room for a resistance to dominant modes of representations. That although as we have seen, through the film and advertisement produced by the Territorial Government there is a clear dominant narrative of representation, how does the ‘āina serve as resistance to this dominant mode?

Illustrations of cinema’s contribution to sympathetic as well as critical political thinking about the modern world. And crucially, contrary to the dominant presumption in the social sciences, thinking... is not a matter of systematically achieving

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<sup>666</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, 58.

<sup>667</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5.

representations of experience by using reliable (that is repeatable) techniques of observation. Rather, thinking involves resistance to the dominant modes of representing the works, whether those representational practices function as mere unreflective habit or as intentionally organized systematic observation.<sup>668</sup>

*(Mis)Reading 'Āina in Island of Oahu film and The Story of Hawaii booklets*

Furthermore, Shapiro articulates that, when viewing cinema as the “epistemic and political value of the aesthetic as opposed to the psychological subject,” landscape shots have the capability to “usher in historical time as they locate the viewers in “spatial and temporal positions” that are “distinct from those of the characters.”<sup>669</sup> What aloha ‘āina imagery and discourse explores is both the epistemic and political value of the aesthetic in opposition to the psychological subject through time periodization (as established by Young) in Hawai‘i. For example a quick read of a scene of people surfing at Waikīkī in the film *Island of Oahu* as the psychological subject expresses the thrill of surfing and canoe ride that incites the possibilities of one day experiencing this unique Hawaiian sport. That with very little effort one can master this famous sport of Kings.

Waikiki Beach is famed for its surf riding and outrigger canoeing. There is no sport on earth more thrilling than surf riding. It was the sport of kings in the past and every newcomer to Hawaii today is gripped by the ambition to ride one of these mighty charges of the surf. The Hawaiians are skilled at managing the tricky toboggans but it is an art in which any good swimmer may learn with a little patience.

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<sup>668</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5

<sup>669</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 8-9.

For those who do not wish to ride the surfboards, there are breathtaking rides to be had in outrigger canoes manned by experienced Hawaiians. An unforgettable experience as the boat races down the slopes of the moving hills of water with sprays stinging invigoratingly as the prow of the canoe leaves the churning blue water. A thrilling climax of a day under the Hawaiian sun.<sup>670</sup>

This overlaid with the pre-national history of Kou and Waikīkī through *KMH* (in which I explain the narrative in more detail in the next section) adds another layer to the type of entertainment that was popular, the game of kilu, which requires both physical skill and skillful oration.<sup>671</sup> In *KMH* I found it interesting that the game of kilu was the highlight in this section of the mo‘olelo, surfing was the introduction to the area and the chief Pele‘ula, but the real entertainment was the kilu game.

Another disconnect between the political value of the aesthetic in opposition to the psychological subject is the mention of surfing as the sport of “kings in the past and every newcomer to Hawaii today is gripped by the ambition to ride one of these mighty charges of the surf.” This edifies the myth of discontinuity of the Hawaiian State and providing ownership for every new comer to dismiss the rich history of Waikīkī and to write a new history that the American citizenry are encouraged to participate in. Through this reciprocal analysis of “both the timeless aspects of the landscape and aspects of its regional past to... reveal the existence of different dimensions of ethnic and geopolitical time.”<sup>672</sup>

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<sup>670</sup> Hawaii Tourist Bureau, *The island of Oahu*. (Film, Transcription by N.K. Ishihara)

<sup>671</sup> Pukui, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 152. Kilu: nvt. A small gourd or coconut shell, usually cut lengthwise, as used for storing small, choice objects, or to feed favorite children from. Used also as a quoit in the kilu game: the player chanted as he tossed the kilu towards an object placed in front of one of the opposite sex; if he hit the goal he claimed a kiss; to play this game. (Malo chapter 42.) In the Bishop Museum are stone quoits labelled kilu. See ex., *eo* and FS 275–83. Nā kilu a Lohi‘au, kilu hulas by Lohi‘au [name of some hulas performed for the coronation of Ka-lā kaua]. Nā kilu a Pele, kilu hulas by Pele [performed for the coronation of Ka-lā-kaua]

<sup>672</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 9-13.

*Aloha ‘Āina Imagery as a Signifier Against Denationalization through Film*

Hō‘ale‘ale Mānā i ke kaha o Kaunalewa  
 Mānā ripples over the land of Kaunalewa  
 Said of the movements of a dance.<sup>673</sup>

By employing the rhizomatic and acentered nature of cinema, I propose that the *mise en scene* can be read against the storyline in the Mo‘olelo of Hi‘iaka and Pele, in relationship to ‘āina as a transference and embodiment of aloha ‘āina imagery. Deleuze asserts that within cinema, “space and postionality are crucial.” Cinema deprivileges the directionality of an acentered commanding perception and it allows for rhizomatic multiplicity from which the world emerges. According to Deleuze, cinema “instead of going from the acentered state of things to centered perception, [we] could go back up towards the acentered state of things and get closer to it.”<sup>674</sup> For this analysis, I revert back to a familiar framework through Hi‘iaka and her relationship with Kīlauea. Continuing the analysis, Hi‘iaka showcases the attachment to ‘āina in a very particular way. Hi‘iaka connects to the people and the places that she encounters by recalling imagery, memory and history of Kīlauea in a poetic process of simile.

Transference of aloha ‘āina imagery through the conceptual component of mānā ‘āina opens a space for better understanding of Hawaiian National Consciousness. The juxtaposition of aloha ‘āina discourse and imagery against a proposed denationalization of ‘āina into landscape through the production of Americanization films offers an interesting space for an analysis of ‘āina as kūlana pāno‘ono‘o.

The two examples I draw upon here are Hi‘iaka’s encounters at Mākua, O‘ahu and Kapu‘uiki, O‘ahu. Hi‘iaka’s transference of images of ‘āina at Mākua and at Kapu‘uiki to the

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<sup>673</sup> Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, [‘ŌN, 1018]

<sup>674</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Geopolitics*, 5. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, 58.



‘āina of Puna and Hilo creates an opportunity for understanding aloha ‘āina imagery in Hawaiian epistemology and to explore ways that ‘āina serves as a kūlana pāno‘ono‘o.

At Makua, Lohi‘au is intrigued by the chief Mailelauli‘i and Ko‘iahi. Lohi‘au’s attraction toward Mailelauli‘i and Ko‘iahi is compared to the beauty of the ocean, the fragrance of the uplands. In the translation by Kepā Maly, Hi‘iaka and her companions are surrounded by the fragrance of the maile and the hala that causes them to reminisce of their homelands and her relatives.<sup>675</sup> Hi‘iaka appeals to Lohi‘au reminding him that his feelings are like the seduction of the young coconut and then compares these lands to the beauty of Kea‘au, Hawai‘i and the beautiful woman in Puna that awaits their return.

10. E nā wahine noho uka, noho lipo wao kele  
 ‘Ākelekele ka mana‘o, mai mili i ke kuko  
 A he makemake, he makemake like nō ē  
 Ku‘u makemake, ‘o ke aloha  
 Aloha mai Loi‘auipo i ke oho o ke kupukupu  
 15. Aloha a‘e au ‘o nā hala o Kea’au  
 ‘O Kea’au i Puna, no Puna ka wahine  
 E ho‘i au ē  
 Aloha wale Puna  
 Pō wale nō I ke ‘ala me ke onaona.<sup>676</sup>

10. O women who dwell in the highlands, in the deep forest  
 vale  
 One’s hopes are almost dashed, nearly smitten by lust  
 And desire exists, a shared desire indeed  
 My desire, the beloved  
 Lohi‘auipo loves the fronds of the kupukupu

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<sup>675</sup> Maly, Kepa. 1998. Oral History Study: Ahupua‘a of Mākua and Kahanahāiki, District of Wai‘anae, Island of O‘ahu. Appendix A. Institute for Sustainable Development.

<sup>676</sup> Ho‘oulumāhieheie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 265.

15. I hold dear the hala trees of Kea‘au  
 Kea‘au in Puna, from Puna comes the woman  
 I shall, indeed, return  
 Beloved indeed is Puna  
 Redolent with fragrance and sweet scent.<sup>677</sup>

In this instance, Hi‘iaka engages in a transference of ‘āina from Kea‘au on the island of O‘ahu to Kea‘au on the Island of Hawai‘i. This ability to engage and juxtapose both of these spaces in order to draw mana from her sister Pele to assist her in this moment so that she is able to fulfill the task that was given to her.

Then at Kapu‘uiki, the Chief Pele‘ula of Kou is surfing with her people and Hi‘iaka “was filled with fond recollection of Hilo, remembrances of the men and women ‘surfing the river mouth’.”<sup>678</sup> She begins this chant when comparing Kapu‘uiki to her ‘āina images of Hilo.

[266] Ke iho lā ka makani  
 Halihali pua ‘o Nu‘uanu ē  
 Aia i kai nā lehua, ke nānā lā ‘o Hilo  
 Ke kā‘ia ho‘i ka ‘aukai ē  
 Nā lehua i ka wai o Hilo  
 ‘O Hilo ho‘i ē.

The wind blows down  
 Carrying flowers of Nu‘uanu  
 There in the sea are the lehua, as Hilo looks on  
 The seafarers are touched  
 Lehua blossoms in the waters of Hilo  
 Hilo, indeed.<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehe, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 248.

<sup>678</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehe, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 278.

<sup>679</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehe, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 279.

In this moment, Hi‘iaka’s original perception at Kapu‘uiki, observing the people surfing is set side by side with her traditional perception at her ‘āina of Hilo. First as a memory of the people surfing at the river mouth, then in the second line, she embodies Hilo, as Hilo looks on at Kapu‘uiki and then in the third line you are transported to the Hilo landscape, “lehua blossoms into waters of Hilo, Hilo indeed.”<sup>680</sup> Keeping in alignment with Charlots original analysis in *Chanting the Universe* I am interested in Hi‘iaka’s use of a possible third perception, that of ‘āina perception. Through ‘āina perception, Hi‘iaka is able to connect to other places more fully through a deep understanding and connection to her ‘āina, in this case Hilo. By using this study, I emphasize ‘āina as the agent and container of memories. That this interchange of memory and history is fluid when the person and ‘āina connect. Similarly, In the *Queen and I* by Iaukea states that, “land, body and memory all inform one another.”<sup>681</sup> For Iaukea, the ‘āina holds the history of that place, the “practical and epistemological memories of encounters” through our relationship with the ‘āina we are inspired to re-connect to these encounters and create encounters that inform each other. This provides a premise for understanding ‘āina as kūlana pāno‘ono‘o and an understanding of ‘āina in it’s function of the national narrative.

“*The Welcome is Real*”

In the 1926 booklet, *The Story of Hawaii* begins with a short paragraph aimed at convincing potential tourists of the “truth” behind Hawai‘i’s glamour and allure, as if to confirm that all a person may have heard or might possibly imagine about the islands is in fact, a reality.

Only after you have been to Hawaii will you know how  
difficult it is to tell of its thrills. Your friends will listen to you,

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<sup>680</sup> Ho‘oulumāhiehie, *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, 279.

<sup>681</sup> Iaukea, *The Queen and I*, 14

mentall shake their heads, put you down as mad, soft,  
 moonstruck. It can't be helped. For Hawaii is more than a fleet  
 of islands... it's an emotion. An emotion so unrelated to the  
 work-a-day world that every-day words stumble in telling of it.  
 And even if you could define it no one would believe you. To  
 some, Hawaii is high adventure. To some it's flashing sport,  
 fun and frolic. To some it's peace, lazy rest, detachment. If  
 strange customs, new places ... and faces ... a month or so of  
 restful, sparkling luxurious living is the adventure you want  
 ..... come to Hawaii.<sup>682</sup>

Subsequent pages describe Hawaii and prompts the reader to question, "is it my  
 imagination?" "Is Hawaii foreign? And yet it seems to be so familiar?" "Can it be real?"

.... You are in Hawaii. Lei women jostling, laughing,  
 chattering. Through town... Hawaiians... Japanese flappers...  
 Globe trotters from the corners of the world. Flowering trees,  
 the golden shower, the flame trees... A strange land? You can't  
 quite tell. The hotels, the stores, the smart shops, the  
 boulevards, fine homes are very much the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But  
 there's something in the air that says go native. There's a  
 pageant of tropic color that calls for a song. There's an  
 expectancy... a breathless waiting for . . . 'most anything.  
 Perhaps it is your imagination that gives this modern city the  
 charm of strange lands. Perhaps everything about you is  
 ordinary and this glamour is a trick. Yet even on the short drive  
 to your hotel there are a score of things that add to this . . . call  
 it illusion if you want to. The signs along the streets, the names  
 of the avenues, the churches of every nationality, the hedges of  
 flowers, trees laden with crimson blossoms, streets edged by

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<sup>682</sup> The Story of Hawaii, The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1926. P.1. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library and Archive Collection. (Emphasis through italics and sequences of dots exist in original text. Reproduced here as it appears in original text.)

green turf rather than sidewalks, glimpses of Japanese sampans at anchor, green bit of the harbor, perhaps a water buffalo. You look into the faces of the natives you meet . . . you wonder how many they have seen that act just like you. Almost ashamed, you are, to be natural. Ashamed to admit that you thrill to this place called Honolulu. It's not natural that people want you to visit them. Hospitality . . . it's real. It is real. Hawaii. There's a strangeness . . . intriguing . . . you've begun life in another world.<sup>683</sup>

An edge-to-edge- photograph of 18 women wearing lei playing ukulele aboard a ship afloat on the ocean, with an image caption that reads: "The welcome is real" accompanies this booklet text.<sup>684</sup> The model of global hospitality according to Kant in *Perpetual Peace*, is dependent upon "the necessity for nations to tolerate difference within themselves as well as in their relationships with other nations."<sup>685</sup> For Kant, this "hoped-for cosmopolitan hospitality" was also built on the premise that "required laws accompanied by a coercive power" was necessary in order to maintain peace between bodies crossing borders.<sup>686</sup> Through montage analysis of global hospitality and the movement of bodies through 'āina, I suggest that the Territorial Government by way of, among other facets, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, stitched together a tapestry of false-narratives that presented Hawai'i to the American public as an extension of the American reality, as a place of peace, safe guarded by its "strategic central location in the Pacific" and its "unique" Americanness.<sup>687</sup> By welcoming

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<sup>683</sup> The Story of Hawaii, The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1926. P.3. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library and Archive Collection. Emphasis through italics and sequences of dots exist in original text. Reproduced here as it appears in original text.

<sup>684</sup> The Story of Hawaii, The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1926. P.3. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library and Archive Collection. Emphasis through italics and sequences of dots exist in original text. Reproduced here as it appears in original text.

<sup>685</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 39.

<sup>686</sup> Shapiro, *Cinematic Political Thought*, 39.

<sup>687</sup> The "strategic central location in the Pacific" refers to the previously mentioned The Story of Hawaii booklet text from 1925. The Story of Hawaii, The Hawaii Tourist Bureau, 1925 p.15

the American tourist to the newly conceived American territorial imaginary, the TG further secured and solidified its identity within the American National framework.

Through the process of denationalizing Hawai‘i for American consumption, the Provisional government aimed at both connecting the American population to the territorial geography of the islands to make it a place that was safe and their own; they were also attempting to make the geography of Hawai‘i connect with and share the same vernacular as other American destinations. To this end, The PG and later TG leveraged the compelling affect of one’s experience with landscape, in combination with the Romantic and the Sublime discourses prevalent in 19<sup>th</sup> century America to evoke a spiritual and compulsory response on behalf of its target audience, based on features of the island as part of an American nationalist experience.

The welcoming subtext also falsely implies the yearning on behalf of Hawai‘i to become American, and simultaneously denies the ardent protest against annexation through the work of ‘Aloha ‘Āina and such measures and the Executive Agreement, the Lili‘uokalani Assignment and the Ku‘e Petitions. Although the TG’s various strategies were highly successful and regardless of the gaze cast upon Hawai‘i, the fact remains that ‘āina is in constant movement and holds the memory of this space at the level of human perception and the virtual, making the efforts of the TG superficial. According to Deleuze, it is entirely possible to dislodge Hawai‘i from the American imaginary because of the way ‘āina functions, and is continually becoming its future state in consciousness. There is the pre-existing and prevailing genealogy, memory and history of the ‘āina. The ‘āina, all the while, continuously serves as a *kūlana pāno‘ono‘o*.

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**Bibilography:**



